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HISTORY
OF THE
UNION LEAGUE
OF
PHILADELPHIA.

©

HISTORY
OF THE
UNION LEAGUE
OF
PHILADELPHIA,

FROM ITS ORIGIN AND FOUNDATION TO THE YEAR 1882.

BY
GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

"Non exercitus, neque thesauri, præsidia regni sunt; verum amici."

SALLUST.

C.
PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
1884.

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1883, Nov. 13.

Bright Earth.

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HISTORY

OF THE

UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA.

I.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SUBJECT.

THE voluntary banding together of citizens to aid the government of their country is characteristic of our age and of the growth of liberty. History shows many examples of heroic devotion to arbitrary rulers on the part of cities or peoples; but the spectacle of private citizens uniting to take on themselves a portion of the cares and expenses of the established government is reserved for those times and countries in which the people themselves create the government and are represented in all its branches.

The progressive spirit which, in the fourteenth century,

prompted the Hanseatic League,—an alliance of towns for the protection and development of commerce against the exactions and hinderances of princes,—takes with us a different form and direction. That great association of popular and corporate powers extended its activity to the functions of government, dictating treaties and declaring wars; but by these means it came into conflict with existing authorities. In a republic like the United States, ideas of new freedom and advancement, social or political, may be labored for by the people without this opposition to authority. Having first delegated their legislative and administrative rights to certain persons, they bring to the aid of those persons a reserved power, which manifests itself in print and speech, in conferences, associations, and in helpful deeds; so that, on an emergency, the entire nation may resolve itself into a sort of sub-government, or vast committee, auxiliary to the appointed heads of affairs.

This was exemplified during the War for the Union by the Union League organized in Philadelphia, and by other societies, modelled after it, in other cities and States of the North. It was one of those growths embodying a sublime conception, which among a free population spring spontaneously into life. Its full scope and stature may not have been foreseen by all those who took part in its beginnings; but as they worked for it in a common spirit, from that spirit it took life, form, and motion, and stood at last like a Titan in the community, a realization of large and harmonious ideas.

To observe, then, the phases of its growth; to review its measures, the character of the men who conducted it, and its influence on the course of public affairs, becomes a matter of deep interest and significance.

II.

PHILADELPHIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR.

To understand precisely the political and social conditions which gave rise to the Union League we must look back to the beginning of the War for the Union.

Before the Presidential election of 1860, Pennsylvania had been a Democratic State. The delegates which it sent to the convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln went as from the "People's Party,"—a coalition which was not ready to array itself definitely under the name of the Republican organization; and although Pennsylvania was carried for Lincoln, it did not give him its electoral vote as a Republican State, but simply as one which had been conquered from the divided Democrats by the successful coalition called the People's Party. Hence, after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, the old elements of variance remained extant and powerful in Philadelphia, the metropolis of the Commonwealth.

On December 13, 1860, a great assembly met in Independence Square, composed of men of almost all parties and factions, to urge as an antidote for secession, concession. The tone of the addresses there delivered, and received with enthusiasm, was entirely in favor of granting to the South

whatever it might demand as a condition precedent to remaining in the Union; in favor of repealing the "liberty bills" passed by Northern States, and preserving the Union by compromise; patching up, in fine, a Marcolfa's peace of the feeblest sort. It was there, too, that an influential speaker pronounced slavery "an incalculable blessing." The strong bias towards the South in the minds of many individuals accustomed to weigh questions carefully may be inferred from the declaration of one such person, the speaker just referred to, Mr. Justice Woodward, of the Supreme Court of the State, who said, on another occasion, "If the Union is to be divided, I want the line of separation to run north of Pennsylvania."

On the 3d of January, 1861, a meeting, composed, according to the account of *The Press* of that time, of about one hundred and fifty from among "our most prominent citizens, representing the influences which control Philadelphia in the present public emergency," was summoned at the Board of Trade rooms. The call for this meeting indicates plainly the current drift of sentiment. It stated that the object was "to consider what measures should be adopted by the citizens of Philadelphia on the present condition of our national affairs, to aid the constituted authorities of the State and general government in the enforcement of the laws, *to remove all just ground of complaint against the Northern States*, and to secure the perpetuity of the Union." Obviously there existed in the minds of those who drew up this appeal a strong belief that open hostility might yet be averted by timely concessions on the part of the North; albeit among the signers

were such men as Henry C. Carey, Morton McMichael, C. G. Childs, Charles Gilpin, William D. Lewis, and Daniel Dougherty. Mr. C. G. Childs presided, and in his opening remarks he said, "While there is yet time let us speak for the Union." The Hon. Ellis Lewis, one of the signers of the call, spoke next, asking to be allowed to withdraw his name, because he could not agree to the resolutions that were to be offered. It turned out that these were too decisively in favor of the government and against secession to suit his taste. Mr. Dougherty presented the fourth resolution first. It strongly approved the conduct of Major Anderson, and called for prompt reinforcements. This was adopted with enthusiasm; but other resolutions denying the right of peaceable secession brought on debate. It was moved to commit them. The Hon. Ellis Lewis then proposed resolutions very conciliatory towards the South, and demanding the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. At last the discussion degenerated into a many-sided and demoralized parley. The meeting was adjourned amid excitement and confusion, without any result having been reached, excepting the demonstration of the fact that among those citizens "representing the influences which control Philadelphia" there was an absolute and hopeless division of opinion respecting the secession question and the duties incumbent on Pennsylvania at that hour.

A little later—January 16, 1861—an "anti-coercion meeting" was held in National Hall, at which speeches against using force towards the South were made by Vincent L. Bradford, Robert P. Kane, George M. Wharton, Charles

Ingersoll; and Benjamin Harris Brewster,—gentlemen of position and force. Mr. Brewster, since appointed Attorney-General of the United States under the administration of President Arthur, at this time held indeterminate views. "The South," he said, "has been wronged. . . . If this goodly fabric falls, what will Pennsylvania do?" The press report of that meeting says the question was answered by cries of "Go with the South!" Mr. Brewster, continuing, declared, "It is an eventuality I have no wish to realize; but this I may safely say, that Pennsylvania will, whether she be detached or not,—whether she is compelled to go with the North *or with the South*, or stand by herself,—she will, if she is true to her own honored story, be ready to pacificate and reconcile and reconstruct, even if the ruin be complete." If Mr. Brewster, who afterwards entered into active sympathy with the North in upholding the Federal government by force of arms, hesitated thus, it may easily be seen how others would hesitate. The National Hall meeting even adopted one resolution which plainly announced a preference for secession,* though the language was somewhat guarded.

* This twelfth resolution read as follows: "That, in the deliberate judgment of the Democracy of Philadelphia, and, so far as we know it, of Pennsylvania, the dissolution of the Union by the separation of the whole South—a result we shall most sincerely lament—may release this Commonwealth to a large extent from the bonds which now connect her with the Confederacy, except so far as for temporary convenience she chooses to submit to them, and would authorize and require her citizens, through a convention to be assembled for that

A few days later* similar tendencies of timidity and surrender found expression in an important gathering of workingmen, who sent a committee of thirty-three to Washington, to urge upon Pennsylvanians in Congress a vigorous support of the Crittenden Compromise. Irresolution and a fellow-feeling with the South were, in fine, shown by representatives of all classes; and the welfare of manufacturers, artisans, and traders, it was insisted, made temporization and conciliation a duty.

In April, 1861, a weekly paper was started boldly under the title *The Palmetto Flag*,—a title which the publishers declared “has been adopted after mature reflection.” This, they asserted, was done “with no intention to adopt sectional views or extreme partisan opinions, but simply to afford to our Southern friends and their Northern sympathizers a liberal vehicle for the expression of their views and opinions.” But the real purpose of the publication was not disguised. Its columns were filled with defences of slavery and attacks upon the Republican party. One editorial characterized “the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln,” as “the head and front of the trouble that now agitates this country;” another, entitled “Pennsylvania a War State for the North or for the South,” asked why it

purpose, to determine with whom her lot should be cast,—whether with the North and East, whose fanaticism has precipitated this misery upon us, or with *our brethren of the South, whose wrongs we feel as our own*; or whether Pennsylvania shall stand by herself as a distinct community,” etc.

* January 26, 1861.

was that Governor Curtin should have summoned the Legislature to put the militia of the State on a war footing; why, in fact, he could not "wait awhile, and watch which way the current of events will turn." This valiant sheet set forth that there were many "Constitution lovers" in the State, who were not ready to have the arms of the militia turned against "their long and patiently suffering brethren of Maryland, Virginia, and the extreme Southern States;" and it hinted that when these citizens should discover how they could become "the manufacturing head of the Southern Confederacy," they would throw off their allegiance to the United States, and call upon New York to go with them.

Sumter fell, and the Pennsylvanians, who in the main had believed that war would be averted, were so stunned by the event that at first they seemed apathetic. Gradually this appearance passed, and in a few days the seething indignation of the people reached the climax of eagerness to fight. The city and State, like the rest of the North, were wrapped in one broad, sheeted flame of patriotism. Yet war had actually been waged for nearly a year, when the phalanx of "constitutional" opinion found its chief philosophical champion in the person of Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll, who, in March, 1862, published a pamphlet which he called "A Letter to a Friend in a Slave State." The purpose of this letter, as announced by the author, was to explain to his Southern friend "the views of some of the persons in this State who regard conciliation as our only available resort, and look upon the extreme course of the government as ruin." He proceeded to consider the possibilities of peaceable

separation, which, he considered, would but engender ceaseless quarrels. "The sword must make our map at last," he affirmed. Next, he treated the question whether it would be practicable, in case of Northern success, to hold the South by military occupation, and settled this debate in the negative. Finally, he reviewed the political history of the Union, and demonstrated, to his own satisfaction, that, even at this late hour, peace could be made, and would readily be made by the South, if the terms were honorable and fair, "not following their programme, and omitting disunion. The difficulty, I repeat, is not with the South; it is with the North. Doubtless there are other difficulties. . . . But the main difficulty is with the North,—the North ruled by the Abolitionists. While their dominion lasts, the difficulty is insuperable."

Insuperable, indeed, it remained, though the result was very different from that which the pamphleteer predicted. His argument was thorough, thoughtful, and sincere. He drew abundant illustration from ancient and European history. His great mistake was that he was discussing a phenomenal revolution which was neither ancient nor European, but American and modern, and, moreover, totally new in its kind of modernness. Still, his performance retains value as a pungent and able statement of the opinions held at the time by many Philadelphians of cultivation and good standing.

The utterance was not allowed to pass unchallenged, but met with a vigorous and polished reply in another pamphlet by Judge M. Russell Thayer. Referring to the future his-

torian who might turn to Mr. Ingersoll's pamphlet for enlightenment, Mr. Thayer wrote: "While he will observe that you proclaim yourself the friend of the Union, he will at the same time perceive that your talents are chiefly devoted to an elaborate apology for the traitors who vainly attempt to destroy it." Cutting through the ingenious web of attempted historic parallels which his antagonist had put forward as a snare for the unwary, he showed their inapplicability, and firmly laid down the plain, unalterable principle on which the war must be maintained. "The Constitution of the United States was formed, it is true, by compromises; but is it a corollary from that, that it must be broken by compromises, or, in other words, that it is to be preserved by breaking it? The advice you give to the people of the United States is to compromise in some unmentioned manner and upon some impossible terms (for you do not venture to hint at them) with bands of armed insurgents. . . . It does not a whit alter the fact that these individuals have obtained in some States the control of the local government, and use it for purposes hostile to the national government. Still, the war is against rebels, and not against States."

In direct, ringing sentences like these, and with tersely cogent reasoning, the plausible "Letter to a Friend" was refuted. But that single combat in print should have been necessary in order to uphold the Union cause at home, while battles were being fought at the front, and the papers teemed with lists of the sick and wounded coming back to Philadelphia, shows how dangerous a power the unpatriotic

element retained in that city. An obscure incident which occurred in November, 1862, may be mentioned as instancing the hostility sometimes exerted against those who were sacrificing themselves for the preservation of the Republic. A mutual benefit society in the lower part of the city, chiefly composed of persons belonging to a single church congregation, voted to exclude from relief all members who enlisted in the service of the country. At about that time one of the oldest members died from the effect of wounds received at Antietam, and, although his monthly dues had been paid regularly, the society refused to give his widow the sum to which those payments entitled her. So late as December, 1862, the *North American* newspaper, in an item of Baltimore news, averred, "The Union feeling in Baltimore is stronger at this time than it is in Philadelphia."

On the other hand, Pennsylvania had taken her stand most sturdily on the Union side, and Philadelphia had exhibited in many ways an enthusiastic loyalty. Two days after the attack on Fort Sumter, sixty-seven influential citizens drew up and signed a declaration to the President of the United States, responding to his proclamation, and declaring their "unalterable determination to sustain the government in its efforts to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our national Union." A number of the signers afterwards became active and valuable members of the Union League.* The seventy-fourth anniversary of the

* Among them were the following: J. I. Clark Hare, Charles Gibbons, Samuel C. Perkins, Daniel Smith, Jr., Morton McMichael, Horace

signing of the Constitution of the United States was, on the petition of numerous citizens, officially celebrated by the city government. Public schools were closed, business was suspended, a military procession took place, and an immense multitude thronged to hear the oration of the Hon. George M. Dallas before a mass-meeting, which passed strongly patriotic resolutions and denounced the theory of secession. Furthermore, just one year to a day after the great anti-coercion meeting at National Hall, a "town-meeting, without distinction of party," was held at noon in Independence Square, "to express the devotion of the people of Philadelphia to the Union." Up to May, 1862, Pennsylvania had sent to the war more troops than any other State, and of those one hundred thousand men the ancient seat of the Federal government had contributed a becoming share. The city distinguished itself in still another way,—by its humane provision for the refreshment of regiments as they passed through it on their way to service or on the return from campaigning. Again, on the President's call for fresh levies of three hundred thousand recruits, the merchants, manufacturers, and leading men of Philadelphia quickly assembled, and subscribed in a few days the sum of seven hundred thousand dollars, to be used in paying bounties to volunteers.

Binney, Jr., Daniel Dougherty, Henry C. Carey, and James W. Paul. It is interesting to observe how promptly these gentlemen took that position which, later on, they were to enforce by a powerful organization.

These facts, however, and the position of Philadelphia as the social and financial centre of a loyal Commonwealth, made the presence and activity of a faction opposed to the government all the more anomalous and injurious. Almost at the moment when the bounty fund was being subscribed with such liberal readiness, the local friends of the South were congratulating themselves that in a few days the rebel army would take Philadelphia, and they went so far as to "assign" among themselves General Lee's headquarters.* It was not so much the size or actual power of this faction which was to be dreaded as its boldness of speech, its possibilities of creating division, its encouragement to the opposition in other States, and its social influence.

Social convention and the scorn of the polite are the dungeon and stake prepared for the modern martyr in the cause of reform. Great movements may be hindered and noble minds be driven almost to despair by the subtle and seemingly intangible instruments of oppression which society uses against those who attack the prejudices it may have chosen to uphold; and even when a majority of the people have adopted an unfashionable idea, the minority which reigns in drawing-rooms may still do much to thwart its successful development. We have seen that, at the outset of the civil conflict, many Philadelphians discovered in the relations of manufacture and trade good reason for making common cause with the South. Others found it in the ties

* The house which they had fixed upon for this purpose was the Dundas mansion, at the corner of Broad and Walnut Streets.

of long association, intimate friendship, kinship, and marriage, which bound them to the inhabitants of the seceding States. They were in many instances not Northern men with Southern views,—not merely “dough-faces,”—but Southern men living in the metropolis of a Middle State, which stood for the Union despite strong temptations to waver. This much may fairly be said on behalf of sundry among them. These persons at the same time enjoyed a traditional authority in circles which claimed to decide who was, or who was not, part and parcel of that mysterious yet positive organism calling itself—as distinguished from the social body at large—“society.” Hence it was of moment to counteract what they said and did. Doubtless they persuaded themselves that their attitude was dictated by a true regard for the Constitution; but doubtless, also, they would have been glad of rebel successes, which would have justified by bitter force their personal opinions, and again reinstated them as popular leaders, in addition to their dignity as the heads of society.

Current comment is invaluable in historic retrospect. The editor of *The Press*, in November, 1862, remarked on the condition of affairs in Philadelphia in these words: “We should all do faithfully what we can to unite and intensify public sentiment in favor of the administration. . . . The enemy is busy in influencing and changing public opinion. In Philadelphia we see them diligently comforting one another, counselling together, gathering strength, and quietly combining to undermine and destroy the nation. All the splendor of brilliant society and the fascination of social intercourse are combined to accomplish this woful purpose.”

The tone of conversation is well indicated in an essay, published more than ten years ago, by one of the founders of the Union Club, now President of the Union League.* "The social condition," says Mr. Boker, "had changed vastly since the traitors among us had slunk away before the spirit which blazed out at the news of the firing upon Sumter. Gradually our secret foes had emerged from their seclusion, taking their wonted social places, and boasting to their foreign visitors that, in what was called 'unmixed society,' they ordered matters, and that all gentlemen would soon be of their way of thinking. The President was vulgar, the administration was vulgar, and the people who waged it were of the common sort, who would shortly receive a merited castigation from the gentlemen of the South, whom the herd was vainly endeavoring to deprive of their biblical, heaven-decreed, constitutional, natural carnal property."

The dissentients here referred to undoubtedly warped the minds of visitors from abroad, whom they entertained and impressed. Anthony Trollope, among other Englishmen who hastened to this country in order to take notes of its throes *in articulo mortis*, found, for the first time on his tour through the North, "live secessionists" in Philadelphia,— "secessionists who pronounced themselves to be such. . . . I generally found in mixed society, *even there*, that the discussion of secession was not permitted; but in society that was not mixed I heard very strong opinions expressed on

* A Memorial of the Union Club of Philadelphia. By George H. Boker. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1871.

each side." There were a few, in the very strongholds of the social autocrats, who remained true. But even Trollope, who regretfully believed that secession would triumph, was moved by the prevalent declarations of disloyalty which he observed here to exclaim, "Surely these people of the United States have fallen from the proud patriotism of their forefathers. Their devotion to their flag is a vain boast, an absurd and unmeaning rhapsody. They see their friends and countrymen dying to sustain their country, and yet to them it is nothing more than the jest of an idle hour. What can be hoped for in a nation when its intellect and wealth and education are thus found aiding its enemies?"

Such imputations were intolerable to those who knew on what partial accounts they were founded. To provide an antidote for them, and to suppress likewise the incipient rebeldom from which they emanated, became the object of a few resolute friends of the Union, who determined to bring together by some new compact those who were of like mind with them.

III.

THE UNION CLUB: GERM OF THE LEAGUE.

THE year 1862 opened with a series of brilliant successes for the Northern arms, but drew towards its close amid dark shadows of defeat; so that the outcome of the struggle looked even more doubtful than if victory had not at first raised such sanguine hopes that the rebellion would speedily be crushed.

In February, Fort Henry had succumbed to Commodore Foote, and Fort Donelson to General Grant, the State of Kentucky and part of Tennessee being thus liberated from Confederate control. The dearly-bought victory at Shiloh and the capture of Corinth followed. Island Number Ten had surrendered, and the main obstacle to the descent of the Mississippi was thereby removed; while Admiral Farragut, moving from below, effected the capture of New Orleans and Baton Rouge. The rebels had been driven out of New Mexico, and were giving way in Arkansas. Even Alabama had been invaded by General Mitchell. On the south, Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah, had early been reduced. In the east, also, Roanoke Island was forced to yield to Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough; Norfolk and Newberne were occupied; Fort Macon, in South Caro-

lina, was taken. All this had been accomplished before the middle of the year, and in March a "Grand Union Ball" was given at Philadelphia "in honor of the recent brilliant victories." Meanwhile, too, after long delay, McClellan had brought his army to within a few miles of Richmond. The fall of that capital was deemed a foregone conclusion. What had been styled the "anaconda" policy of slowly surrounding the Confederacy with a huge mailed coil and squeezing it to death, was supposed to be on the eve of its consummation.

Suddenly reverses began in the terrible Seven Days' Battle, which resulted in a withdrawal from the Peninsula. This was quickly followed by Pope's bloody defeat in the second Battle of Bull Run; and McClellan's return to command brought nothing better than the costly sacrifice made at Antietam, without preventing the escape of Lee. Buell's drawn battle with Bragg, at Perryville, Kentucky, was hardly more encouraging. Inaction prevailed along the rest of the line. Antietam and Perryville checked the invasion of Maryland and Kentucky; but the fact that the Union forces were now so largely on the defensive emphasized the great change which had taken place in the situation. At the same time, the rebel General Stuart's raid into Pennsylvania carried the war distinctly into the North.

Encouraged by these disasters, the Democrats opposed to the war rallied their forces and elected Horatio Seymour Governor of New York. Their friends in Pennsylvania became active and exultant; and if a formidable barrier had not been opposed to the movements of the revived peace

party in this State, a Democratic governor would probably have been chosen at the next election in Pennsylvania, with results possibly fatal to the cause for which so many gallant men had already laid down their lives. Such a barrier was, however, formed. It first took shape as the Union Club. In the minds of several citizens the thought had arisen that something might be done by combination to overcome the cumulative influence of the treasonous. These gentlemen, among whom were Judge J. I. Clark Hare, Mr. George H. Boker, Mr. Charles Gibbons, the late Benjamin Gerhard, and the late Horace Binney, Jr., had from the time of the first threats against Fort Sumter adopted the custom of meeting informally to talk over public affairs at the office of the *North American* newspaper. In the person of the editor, the late Morton McMichael, previously High Sheriff of Philadelphia for several years, and warmly esteemed for his large heart and strong mental grasp, no less than for his gift of spontaneous and glowing eloquence, they found a congenial friend. There existed in the casual association of these earnest thinkers a ready nucleus for the club, so soon as its formation was suggested. The immediate occasion of that project was furnished in part by an incident in the social history of the city. From the year 1798 there had existed in Philadelphia a custom of weekly reunions of gentlemen during the winter season, which had its rise in entertainments given by Dr. Caspar Wistar. After his death, in 1818, the attendants at these receptions resolved themselves into an association called "The Wistar Party," and continued to meet. The social intercourse afforded by the Wistar Party

was highly prized by those who enjoyed its privileges, either as members or guests; but when the civil war broke out, differences of opinion became so sharp, and so much bitter discussion penetrated the circle, that the association ceased. Political rancor, in fact, marred all forms of social assembly for those whose principles made it hard for them to let disloyal utterances pass unchallenged; and as the war went on, the friends of the Union felt more and more strongly the need of meeting where they should not be made to feel that their dearest principles and most solemn convictions marked them as objects of ridicule, scorn, or commiseration.

"In this miserable condition of public and private affairs," says Mr. Boker's Memorial, "on one of the darkest days of that gloomy month of November, 1862, Judge J. I. Clark Hare and the writer of this article met in Seventh Street between Chestnut and Sansom Streets. We fell into a conversation which was little better than a comparison of sorrows. The thought that seemed to move Judge Hare most deeply was that while we, the inhabitants of a loyal city, were thus cast down before the ill fortunes of our country, men who were almost leagued with the Southern traitors were walking with high heads among our people, openly exulting in our discomfiture, and eagerly waiting for the day of our utter overthrow. 'Is there no remedy for this state of things?' said Judge Hare. 'Can we not, at least, withdraw from all social relations with disloyal men and set up a society of our own?' He continued the subject by sketching the plan for an association which, substantially, was that which was soon after adopted by the Union Club." Mr.

Boker agreed to go at once to the office of Mr. McMichael and talk the scheme over with him. This he did, and the two were drawing up a list of those who were to be asked to join the club, when Mr. Gerhard entered. He was at once informed of the design, and enthusiastically approved it, offering to have the first meeting at his own house. It took place there, accordingly, "on or about the 15th of November, 1862."

So tentative was this beginning that the notes of invitation were sent out unsigned, and merely stated that there would be a meeting of loyal men at Mr. Gerhard's house, 226 South Fourth Street, for a patriotic purpose. This was not done from a want of courage, for the movers in the scheme were determined to assert loyalty as a social force at all hazards, and however few their coadjutors might be. But in those days there was no certainty as to how their proposition would be received even by men of their own political faith; and it was necessary to proceed cautiously. A small number—from a dozen to fifteen—answered to the call, and listened to the plan submitted for their consideration; but nothing more was done then, and not much enthusiasm was shown. A second meeting was held one week later, on the evening of November 22, at the house of George H. Boker, 1720 Walnut Street. Here twenty-four gentlemen were present. A standing committee had meanwhile been formed,* and

* Composed as follows: Morton McMichael, Chairman; J. I. C. Hare, Charles Gibbons, Benjamin Gerhard; George H. Boker, Secretary.

brief articles of association for the new Union Club of Philadelphia had been drawn up, which were now adopted. These limited the number of members to fifty, and added, "The condition of membership shall be unqualified loyalty to the government of the United States, and unwavering support of its measures for the suppression of the Rebellion." It was further provided that the Club should meet, during months to be named by the committee, every Saturday night, at eight o'clock, at the house of a member, and that the member giving the entertainment should be free to invite persons not belonging to the Club, provided their opinions were in harmony with the condition of membership just quoted.

It will be seen that by this plan the Wistar Party tradition of assembling on Saturday evenings at members' houses had been skilfully seized upon, at the same time that all disaffected persons were rigorously excluded. That was a sagacious measure, for it implied that this group of unqualified Unionists had succeeded to the high social rights and privileges of the Wistar Party, and meant to make its opinions fashionable. A sympathetic observer, who was prevented by absence from taking part, has since said that the purpose of the Union Club was virtually to create "an organized *respectability* of Federalists or Unionists, as opposed to the *aristocracy* of Secessionists." Now that a decisive step had been taken, enthusiasm and support increased rapidly. One instance will show how eager those were to join who believed in the purposes of the association, and how important it was thought to give in their adhesion. Mr.

J. B. Lippincott, the eminent publisher, was at the turning-point of a typhoid fever just when it was desired that he should become a member; so that it was not thought safe to bring the subject before him. The attending physician was asked to watch for the first opportunity to propose to him his accession, when it could be done without risk to the patient, and Mr. Lippincott signed the articles while still unable to rise from his bed. The Club had been formed quietly, and, as we have seen, with a certain amount of hesitation. Its numbers were small, and its function was to be limited to moral support of the government, without taking public political action as a body. But its power was soon felt. It produced a social revolution.

The indignation and opposition of those whom it shut out were prompt and intense. Hitherto Philadelphia society had been ruled by rigorous distinctions, often arbitrary, but entirely irreversible; and those who had made the distinctions were in general Southern in their leanings. For people in "mixed society" to band together with an express proviso that reflected on the desirability of intercourse with these reigning powers seemed a daring offence against the canons of the old coteries. Worse than that, sundry of the members of those very coteries were among the new covenanters on behalf of the Union. Again, the fact that they stepped into the place left vacant by the disbanded Wistar Party was exasperating, and it may have added to the irritation that the new circle adopted a card of invitation closely modelled on that which had been used by the older association. In place of the portrait of Dr. Wistar there appeared

on the Union Club card an engraving of the United States flag upon a slanting staff, surrounded by a circle of thirty-two stars against a shaded ground, with the name of the Club above. Otherwise, in size and the form of wording, it was almost precisely the same. Shortly after the Union Club went into operation there appeared in a virulent Copperhead evening paper a paragraph giving the names of all the members, and announcing that within the next few weeks the houses of those gentlemen would be sacked. The threat was never carried out, and emanated from no very responsible source; but, in its blatant way, it doubtless reflected the animosity existing among more cultivated opponents of the war. But their ridicule and anger were alike unavailing. Their influence from that hour began to wane, and was never recovered. The struggle continued for several years, both in the social field and that of journalism and politics; but, with the end of the war, the old standards passed away, and society in Philadelphia was no doubt materially changed and liberalized as a result of the stand taken by the Union Club. I have thought it worth while to dwell on this side of the subject, because at the time it was a vital one. Trivial though a social opposition may seem in looking back, after it has been overpowered, it was a serious consideration to those who experienced or exercised it. Another important consideration is that the Club's success in creating a centre of loyalty in local society cleared the ground for that larger work which it was to accomplish, the establishment of the Union League. Alluding to this period, of which he had full personal knowledge, the Hon. John

Russell Young writes, "I do not think anything during the war was of more value to the cause of the Union than the vigorous and self-denying efforts of these gentlemen who founded the Union League, and who laid down the principle that in a crisis like that which then existed even social influences should be devoted to strengthening the administration, reorganizing the Republican party, and giving life and force to the Union movement."

The personal quality of the Union Club is discernible through a glance at the following list of its constituents:

MEMBERS OF THE UNION CLUB.

MORTON McMICHAEL,
J. I. C. HARE,
CHARLES GIBBONS,
BENJAMIN GERHARD,
GEORGE H. BOKER,
A. E. BORIE,
JOHN M. READ,
SINGLETON A. MERCER,
E. SPENCER MILLER,
HORACE BINNEY, JR.,
STEPHEN COLWELL,
JAMES W. PAUL,
JOHN ASHHURST,
HENRY C. CAREY,
WILLIAM HENRY RAWLE,
SAMUEL J. REEVES,
ALFRED D. JESSUP,
ABRAHAM J. LEWIS,
CHARLES L. BORIE,

FREDERICK FRALEY,
J. G. FELL,
ALEXANDER BROWN,
WILLIAM H. ASHHURST,
DR. W. C. SWANN,
DANIEL DOUGHERTY,
GEORGE H. TROTT,
FAIRMAN ROGERS,
ROBERT B. CABEEN,
JOHN B. MYERS,
WILLIAM M. TILGHMAN,
A. J. ANTELO,
C. H. CLARK,
FERDINAND J. DREER,
JAMES L. CLAGHORN,
EDWIN M. LEWIS,
HENRY M. WATTS,
THOMAS A. BIDDLE,
DANIEL SMITH, JR.,

THEODORE FROTHINGHAM,	S. V. MERRICK,
CHARLES J. PETERSON,	GEN. GEORGE CADWALADER,
GEORGE WHITNEY,	WILLIAM SELLERS,
JOSEPH HARRISON, JR.,	JOSEPH B. TOWNSEND,
WILLIAM D. LEWIS,	B. H. MOORE,
JOSHUA B. LIPPINCOTT,	JAMES MILLIKEN,
JOHN H. TOWNE,	ABRAHAM BARKER,
WARD B. HASELTINE,	JOHN P. VERREE,
S. M. FELTON,	DR. JOHN F. MEIGS,
JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG.	

Here were men of the highest character, and representing many kinds of ability. Mr. Rawle, Mr. Tilghman, Judge Hare (son of the distinguished chemist, Robert Hare), and Charles Gibbons brought to the cause their reputation as among the most brilliant and able men of the Philadelphia bar. The presence of Horace Binney, Jr., carried with it the sanction of his distinguished father's sympathy and the grace of his own scholarship. Retiring and a student, he had taken command of a volunteer company during the riots of 1844, and now again came forward to exercise the higher duties of citizenship. Mr. Boker, a man of leisure who had earned fame as a poet, Daniel Dougherty, renowned for political and forensic oratory, Mr. J. Gillingham Fell, and Mr. Antelo, were all Democrats, whose warm co-operation indicated the unpartisan aim of the Club. The name of Henry C. Carey, as that of the most original American political economist, was in itself a power. Then, again, the banking interest had for exponents the Bories and Mr. Barker; that of manufacturers, William Sellers and George

Whitney; and Mr. Claghorn stood for mercantile affairs. The father of Abraham Barker was that Jacob Barker who took the whole government loan in the War of 1812, and at a later day maintained in New Orleans abolition principles which his son inherited. Mr. Peterson and Mr. Lippincott were, as they still remain, the heads of large publishing houses; while Mr. McMichael and Mr. Young supplied links of vital contact with the press. Holding a high place in the faculty of medicine, Dr. John F. Meigs, although a Georgian by birth, illustrated in his own person the maxim that true patriotism should not be confined to any one section of the country. Almost without exception, in short, the membership was significant,—deeply and widely so. Another element of strength included by it lay in the diversity of ages. Many of the members were in the prime of life; others were getting well beyond the meridian: so that with the glowing force of younger manhood was combined the moderation of riper age. The spirit which prevailed at the meetings was one of great cordiality, and, though they were marked by the ceremonious dress of evening parties, the general footing was one of informal friendship. Authors, journalists, and strangers of distinction often came as guests, and the conversation was brilliant. But it was impossible that an assembly possessing such varied and remarkable traits of force as this one did should rest satisfied with these results.

The best means of enlarging their sphere of action soon came under consideration; and when the Union Club had been in existence just seven weeks, articles of association for

the UNION LEAGUE were presented to the members, and were signed by nearly all the large company present. This was done at the house of Dr. John F. Meigs, 1208 Walnut Street. Dr. Meigs himself was soon after obliged, by the pressure of professional engagements, to resign from the Union Club, and the same cause prevented his taking any active share in the work of the League. The Union Club continued its meetings independently until November 11, 1865, when it was resolved to give them up and hold an annual dinner only.

Thus out of the gloom which had disheartened men was evolved that agency which was to do much towards securing the triumph they desired. As a prism refracts ordinary daylight, dispersing it into its component rays, so the moment this Club had crystallized, it showed that so long as there was any light left at all there could be found in it—when passed through a proper medium—the rainbow hues of hope.

IV.

THE LEAGUE FOUNDED—EFFECT ON NEW YORK AND BOSTON.

THE only outward sign that anything unusual was contemplated at the regular meeting of the Union Club at Dr. Meigs's house on December 27, 1862, was given in the words "business meeting," written on the invitation cards, near one of the lower corners.

When, however, the company had assembled, the scheme which had been perfected was presented to their attention, the late Stephen Colwell presiding, and Mr. Charles Gibbons acting as secretary. Fundamental articles for the proposed association had been drawn up by Mr. Gibbons, whose position as a lawyer and uncompromising devotion to the principles involved qualified him well for the task.*

Debate arose as to whether a new name should be selected for the new body, or whether it should simply transfer to itself the title of the Club already existing. Mr. Gibbons had originated the term "Union League;" but others favored retaining the appellation of Union Club. Arguments were advanced to support the former; and perhaps the precedent of the "solemn league and covenant" made at Boston in

* See Documentary History for the articles as finally adopted.

1774, to ratify as against Great Britain the non-importation and non-consumption agreement recommended by the General Court,—added to some association with that earlier Solemn League and Covenant in 1643, for preserving the Reformed religion in Scotland and England,—had an influence in shaping the decision. The designation Union League was finally chosen. The articles at first prescribed that members should not maintain any business or social relation with persons whose loyalty was open to question, showing how strenuous was the desire to define beyond all cavil the position and purpose of the new association. Two individuals of the party at Dr. Meigs's, however, refused to pledge themselves to this condition; and since it was important to secure unanimity, the clause was amended, though not without protest, and social proscription of individuals belonging to the peace party was not made obligatory. But ultimately the result was much the same as if it had been accepted, for party feeling ran so high that the majority of those signing the League covenant did actually cut off all social connection with their political opponents, and in many cases ceased to recognize them on the street.

A standing committee was appointed at this meeting, consisting of Benjamin Gerhard, Charles Gibbons, William H. Ashhurst, George H. Boker, James L. Claghorn, Horace Binney, Jr., Morton McMichael, J. I. C. Hare, and Joseph B. Townsend. But even at this time the full range of the League's possibilities was not generally foreseen by the subscribers. The prevalent conception was that a reading-room should be opened, where the well-disposed might assemble to learn the

latest news and to hold salutary consultation. Some, however, knew that more than this would be necessary; and Messrs. Ashhurst and Claghorn speedily resolved on taking a commodious house for the new loyal club. The building selected by them was the old Hartmann Kuhn house, 1118 Chestnut Street, which they engaged at a rent that appeared to many of the more timid entirely unwarranted. On January 6, 1863, Mr. Claghorn, as Treasurer, issued a circular requesting the payment of fees, "the League being now organized," and on February 6, 1863, there appeared in one of the newspapers a notice to "the members of the association known as the Union League," that the club-house in Chestnut Street would be open the following Monday night, February 9. The day before this a long letter was published in the same journal* defending the recently formed Club against bitter attacks which had been made upon it publicly in print, and in the same issue is found a communication signed "Democracy," breathing threats that a Democratic Committee of Safety might soon be formed to retaliate for arrests on the part of provost-marshals, by taking into custody prominent Republicans. Such was still the divided state of popular feeling.

The League house was not opened formally until February 23, 1863, although the first general meeting was held January 22, in Concert Hall. Before that date Mr. Boker had gone to work in his capacity of Secretary, and sat at his desk daily, taking the names of additional subscribers. Quite early during this process two elderly and respected citizens

* *The Press.*

came to him, saying, "We think this is a good movement, and would like to put our names down. But, Mr. Boker, what is it that you really intend doing?"

"We intend to take treason by the throat!" was the resolute answer.

The two candidates turned pale for a moment, startled by so vehement a declaration; but they presently gave in their adhesion to the terse programme it embodied.

While the work of the committee was going on it became apparent that something could be done to assist the building up of an organization in New York similar to that which they were directing. Some time in November, 1862, several members of the Union Club who were engaged in the Sanitary Commission met Dr. Bellows in the cars, returning from Washington. They told him of the movement already set on foot in Philadelphia. Correspondence had sprung up shortly before this between Professor Wolcott Gibbs and Frederick Law Olmsted, of New York—both friends of Dr. Bellows—concerning the advisability of an association among the loyal men of that city; but nothing had been accomplished. The project received a fresh impetus from this conversation with the Philadelphia gentlemen; but before any final step had been taken the Union League was developed. A little earlier than this—in December, and before the first battle of Fredericksburg—Judge Hare met Professor Gibbs on the street in New York, and unfolded to him the larger scheme which had been matured as an outgrowth of the Union Club. His listener was apparently much struck; and as a consequence of these two conferences

the Philadelphia Union League sent over to New York, in January, 1863, a committee, to explain, for the benefit of those in New York who wished to follow their example, the plan which had been hit upon in Philadelphia.* They were received at the house of Mr. George Strong, and set forth their views at length. Dr. Bellows then rose and said, "Gentlemen of New York, I am satisfied with what we have heard, and I move that we adjourn to the next room for conference." His motion was acted upon, and after a short time the group returned, President King of Columbia College turning to the visitors with the words, "Gentlemen of Philadelphia, we hope to organize here a club which shall exceed yours in numbers and equal it in efficiency." Later in the month of January an informal committee headed by Judge Hare went to New York to renew the conclave already held, and on this occasion, the New York Union League Club not having been as yet perfected, the Philadelphia delegates gave to their New York friends a dinner at the Astor House. It may have been at this dinner that the proposal was made that some of the patriots who purposed a similar combination in New York should attend the public opening of the Philadelphia League's house on February 23.

The Union League of Philadelphia ratified its articles and came into being December 27, 1862. The Union League Club of New York did not adopt the report of its Committee

* This committee consisted of J. I. Clark Hare, Horace Binney, Jr., William Welsh, Alexander Brown, Ellis Yarnall, and George Trott.

on Organization until February 21, 1863, nearly two months later. Its formation was effected almost wholly at the suggestion, and certainly with the immediate advice and guiding aid, of the Philadelphia League, from whose articles it borrowed the first section, word for word, with two exceptions.*

It was one of the ardent wishes of the parent organization to stimulate the creation of leagues harmonious with itself in other cities and States. This early success in producing so marked an effect upon New York was a striking testimony to the moral impression it had begun to make in the very first weeks of its existence. An understanding was also arrived at that, in the task of promoting further organization, the Union League Club should take New York and New England for its field, while the Union League of Philadelphia should direct its efforts upon all places to the west of that region; but, as a matter of fact, the Union Club of Boston drew its inspiration immediately from the League in Philadelphia. The preliminary meeting of the Boston organization was held February 4, 1863, at the house of Dr. Samuel G. Ward, "for the purpose of considering the expediency of forming a club in this city on principles resembling those of the Union League of Philadelphia."† Mr. Edwin

* For further details as to the date of beginning the Union League Club of New York, see Documentary History.

† Of this meeting, Edward Everett was chairman, and Martin Brimmer secretary. A letter was read, recounting what had been achieved in Philadelphia; and a committee of fifteen gentlemen of the highest character and influence was appointed, which prepared articles. The preamble and first clause were copied almost literally

P. Whipple, who was a member of the club thus formed, writes that "its effect was to make patriotism fashionable. Its political power consisted, I think, in informing the rich and fashionable people that they would lose caste if they became Copperheads." The fact that this was thought needful in Boston throws into still stronger relief the necessity which had existed in Philadelphia. But the Boston club was less aggressively courageous, and expressly bound itself not to take any associate action "on any political question or subject."

William Morris Meredith, eminent in the annals of Pennsylvania jurisprudence, was unanimously chosen President of the League at the first general meeting, January 22, 1863, and the choice was a wise one. Efficient in State politics, Secretary of the Treasury under President Taylor, carrying great weight by his character and social standing, and at the date of the war made Attorney-General of Pennsylvania by Governor Curtin, his position was such as to command general attention to his act in accepting the headship of the new body. Moreover, since he had been a member of the Peace Congress at the beginning of secession, it was to be supposed that his attitude would be a judiciously conservative one as regarded the present movement; so that his presence would naturally draw many moderate and hesitating men into its current. The four

from the Philadelphia document. The second clause was altered to suit the local conditions. Instead of the words "discountenance and rebuke . . . all disloyalty," etc., it read, "the encouragement and dissemination of patriotic sentiment and opinion."

Vice-Presidents—W. H. Ashhurst, Horace Binney, Jr., John B. Myers, and Adolph E. Borie—were also elected unanimously. The choice of directors fell with equal unanimity upon Messrs. McMichael, Hare, Gibbons, Claghorn, Gerhard, Townsend, Boker, George Whitney, and John B. Kenney.

At length the preparations of the Standing Committee were so far advanced that they decided to celebrate Washington's birthday at the League house. The anniversary fell on a Sunday, and the celebration—which brought about the first large social assembly of members—did not come off until Monday, February 23. Mr. Meredith's official duties detaining him, Horace Binney, Jr., presided, introduced by Mr. McMichael. The rooms were brilliantly decorated; flags draped the windows and doorways, and at an early hour the house was crowded. Governor Curtin, who had been the first executive to reinforce the demoralized national army after Bull Run, and the first governor who had his State officially represented at Washington in caring for the interests of soldiers in the field, attended the reception, and spoke after Mr. Binney had offered him a permanent and hearty welcome on behalf of the League. The Union League Club of New York was represented by Dr. Bellows and President King. The first said, "After looking around on this assembly and hearing your Governor speak, it seems as if Pennsylvania alone should crush the rebellion, and I feel I should not offer you New York to aid in the undertaking." President King was cordial in his acknowledgment of the important action which had been taken. "In New

York," he said, "we will gladly imitate the example set us and co-operate with you. . . . We are in New York very powerless of good. . . . It is fit that in the city of the Hall of Independence we should come here and learn that our government must last forever. We carry out your precepts." Messrs. James Milliken, Frederick Fraley, William D. Lewis, Daniel Dougherty, M. Russell Thayer, and Rev. J. W. Jackson also made addresses,* after which Mr. Binney announced that the League house would be open every Monday night for members, to give opportunity for a general meeting and conversation.

The maledictions of the dissatisfied had been loud, in both speech and print, and political opponents had even averred that the Leaguers would never be allowed to take possession of their building peaceably. The committee made arrangements to thwart the riot thus predicted by laying in a supply of axe-helves and stationing a force of police in the grounds at the side of the house; but the turbulent spirits of the opposition were cowed, and the inauguration went off peaceably, amid an enthusiasm which augured well for the success of the League.

* See Documentary History.

V.

FIRST YEAR OF THE LEAGUE.

THE League had no sooner been set in motion than it was imitated in other places, and a growing wave of enthusiasm flowed forth from it, bringing invigoration to all whom it touched. Men of sound sentiment everywhere felt themselves strengthened by this timely influence, and soldiers at the front sent back to the founders a hearty hail of gratitude and encouragement, and in some cases asked to be enrolled as members. That which Judge Hare had looked forward to as the outcome of this movement—a general “touching of the elbows,” to make friends of the Union feel that they stood firm in the midst of a great homogeneous mass—was coming to pass: they were now joined in a mighty phalanx. And this moral cohesion, previously so much missed, was destined to exert an influence of almost immeasurable importance.

Not the least striking of the first effects was the revolution in popular sentiment which soon began to manifest itself in Philadelphia; and with this there appeared a boldness of self-assertion on the part of the loyal, which had not existed until then. Indeed, their spirit once aroused, it became difficult to restrain some of the hotter heads from acts of

violence in retaliation for the threats and revilings bestowed upon them by their opponents. When the tide of feeling had begun fairly to turn, sedate citizens were sometimes surprised of a morning to find halters hanging from street lamp-posts, with inscriptions attached, stating that this was the remedy designed for virulent peace advocates, who were specified by name. The men who directed the League, however, discouraged such ebullitions, and the conservative counsel of the Secretary, Mr. Boker, was especially efficacious in this way. The President having little time for the actual superintendence of League affairs, the Secretary, who gave his days and nights unremittingly to the work, assumed charge of them, and became naturally a target for hostility. Nor must it be imagined that the post was without actual danger. These active members of the League, though remaining at home in a Northern city, were sometimes exposed to as much peril as they would have been on the battleground. One night, during a period of great excitement and in the midst of a dense crowd, an enemy of the cause confronted Mr. Boker in front of the League house and levelled a revolver at him. "I've got you now!" cried the would-be assassin, with a burst of profanity, putting his finger on the trigger. The Secretary was unarmed and only a few feet from the muzzle of the revolver; but he defied his assailant in language as energetic as the emergency demanded, telling him to fire like the coward he was. Fortunately, a friend in the crowd struck the revolver aside, and the man was dragged off by his more prudent comrades. Facing opposition of this extreme kind, as well as of others,

the Leaguers preserved a resolute front, but were not hurried into any answering violence, and pursued their objects with increased tenacity and success.

The practical conduct of the enterprise was promptly taken in hand by the Standing Committee, which held its first meeting January 5, and came together at intervals of from two to five days. Mr. Charles Gibbons was appointed a committee to draft By-Laws for the League, with power to associate with himself Messrs. Kenney and S. B. Thomas; and measures were taken to procure a charter. The By-Laws were unanimously adopted January 22, at the first League meeting. Early in March, also, it was resolved, on Mr. Gibbons's motion, to celebrate the national anniversary.*

Among other resolutions taken at this time was one admitting to the privileges of the League, without fee, any clergyman who should subscribe to the fundamental articles; and there was also an Elective Committee† appointed by the President, to pass upon applicants for membership.

The immediate inspiration of the League extended to Washington, Baltimore, Delaware, and westward even to San Francisco; so that it became necessary to create a committee for the purpose of encouraging and assisting the

* The committee in charge of this entertainment consisted of Messrs. McMichael, Whitney, Gibbons, Claghorn, and Boker.

† Messrs. Charles Gibbons, Wilson C. Swann, James Milliken, Cadwalader Biddle, William H. Kern, James W. Paul, W. Rotch Wister, George Erety, E. Spencer Miller, John Rice, George J. Gross, Edwin Greble, and Fairman Rogers.

organization of Union Leagues in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, and to answer the applications in regard to this matter, which poured in from all parts of the country. This they did in part by means of a printed circular.* Even the different wards in the city of Philadelphia set to work to establish their special and subsidiary Leagues; and a popular institution called the National Union Club, exacting only nominal fees, was started in sympathy with the League proper and received its co-operation. It was complained by some of the friends of the Union that the League itself was taking too nearly the mould of an ordinary social club. They asserted that a body meeting in an elegant house, "with lace curtains in the windows," never could produce a revolution. But these persons were lacking in discernment. About the middle of February, Mr. Gerhard moved that a committee of three be named, with power to add to its numbers, for the purpose of printing and circulating information; and Mr. Gerhard himself, with Messrs. Ashhurst and Townsend, were constituted such a committee. This was the beginning of one of the most extensive and effectual functions exercised by the League during the whole war period. With a changed membership, and under the name of the Board of Publication, it circulated during 1863 more than one million copies of the League's own publications, besides many from other sources, sowing broadcast the seeds of a healthier public opinion. A simple badge of light blue silk, bearing the name of the League in gold, was brought

* See Documentary History.

into use as a means of fostering the general spirit of brotherhood in patriotism.

If the days had been gloomy when the Union Club sprang into existence, the months since then had brought such a freight of untoward events, both political and military, as might have filled with despair men less determined than the Leaguers. Burnside had suffered a terrible rout at Fredericksburg in December; Sherman had been repulsed at Vicksburg; and the campaign in Tennessee, despite the favorable result of the Battle of Murfreesboro', had not yet taken a decisive turn. The spring elections of March and April showed New Hampshire so evenly divided that the Republican candidate for governor had not even a plurality; Rhode Island was carried by a reduced majority; and the majority in Connecticut, though decisive, was less than at the previous election. It was evident that dissatisfaction at the war, and hopelessness as to the restoring of the Union, were gaining a continually stronger hold on the minds of voters. In Philadelphia, the opposition thought it could detect the dawn of a returning supremacy for itself in State and national affairs. An indignation meeting of Peace Democrats was held in Independence Square, to censure the Federal government for the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham; and towards the last of March a new daily paper—*The Age*—had been started to advocate their views. It met with immediate success. An attempt was made to counter the effect of the League by opening a Democratic club; but this was not so successful, since by the nature of its aims, which were negative, it was debarred from coming before the people

with a positive and consistent course capable of exciting enthusiasm. Nevertheless, great encouragement was furnished to this party by the majority of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, which pronounced the Enrollment Act of March unconstitutional; and they were accordingly ready to enter with high hopes into the struggle which arose in the autumn over this issue, and over the general suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* by President Lincoln in September.

The Age, while printing in one column the movements of "our forces" in the field, in another column brought to bear upon those who were supporting the power that directed such forces all the ingenuities of satire, abuse, and political controversy that seemed likely to weaken the Union cause. It accused the Leaguers of being "wolves in sheep's clothing," not satisfied with destroying the Constitution, but also branding as traitors those who "clung to the provisions of that sacred instrument." Their purpose, it averred, was to establish a consolidated government in the North, "operating directly upon individuals without regard to State relations and duties." At another time it offered a series of sarcastic resolutions for the Leaguers, the purport of which was that so long as any money could be made out of the war it should be continued. Again, it called upon them tauntingly to prove their patriotism by volunteering for military service. Doubtless the editors of such a journal would have been glad to see marching away to the war the men who so persistently sought to trammel public enemies at home; but the League had been created precisely to do a work which could not be effected by cannon and bayonet; and they continued steadily

to prosecute it, bringing more energy to bear the more they saw that it was needed.

An interesting acquisition to the properties of the house was made in February through the purchase, by Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer and others, of Thomas Sully's portrait of Washington, which they presented to the League. The artist had already been voted the privileges of the League, as an acknowledgment of his courtesy in loaning the picture. Later on, Brigadier-General Birney sent to the association General Kearney's battle-flag, which was cherished as a memento of a singularly gallant officer. The flags of various Pennsylvania regiments were collected, stained with faithful blood and shredded by the enemy's bullets, but carrying emblazoned on their faded folds the names of well-fought fields,—symbols of the memories which should never fade, though the banners themselves might crumble to dust. Swords captured in the fray were hung crossed upon the walls here and there, and other interesting relics of battle were kept in sight. Over the cornice of the building rose the effigy of an American eagle, with the starry national ensign ceaselessly waving from a long staff still higher in the air; and the martial souvenirs that greeted the eye on entering the lower rooms might well stir in those who beheld them a fresh sense of how much was owing to the men who had perished in action. Doubtless the spectacle awoke in them a thought akin to that of Montrose, in his ringing lines to the murdered Charles:

"I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet-sounds,
And write thy epitaph in blood and wounds."

The enlistment of new legions, to avenge the dead and justify their sacrifice by helping towards the final triumph, afterwards became the special care of the Committee on Enlistments, under the chairmanship of Mr. Joseph R. Fry, whose labors will be described in another chapter. A second committee, appointed April 8, was charged with "providing employment for disabled soldiers who have been honorably discharged from the United States service."* Another matter of great importance came up in the proposed enrollment of negro troops, which involved so much conflict with latent prejudice that the officers of the League were unwilling to commit the organization to its advocacy. A Supervisory Committee for the Enlistment of Colored Troops was, however, formed by individuals of the League, which had the moral support of the Board of Direction; and the eloquent poem written by the League Secretary, Mr. Boker, on the Second Louisiana (the black regiment which displayed its gallantry at Port Hudson) was circulated by the Board of Publication with its other documents. The chronicle of this committee must also be reserved for a separate chapter.

The directors early saw the advisability of observing all

* For this service were selected Messrs. W. Welsh, W. B. Thomas, John H. Town, George N. Tatham, John D. Taylor, Charles Knecht, M. Baird, Thomas Kimber, Jr., M. Errickson, James Dougherty, James Pollock, John Thompson, Thomas Potter, Dell Noblit, Charles Wheeler, W. Struthers, John Rice, Edwin Greble, James H. Bryson, W. F. Miskey, W. H. Merrick, Joseph S. Lovering, Thomas G. Hollingsworth, John Sellers, Isaac F. Baker, W. C. Baker.

anniversaries which could be turned to account in affecting public sentiment. The chief effort in this direction was to be made on July 4, 1863. It was determined to carry out a celebration of the national holiday which should surpass everything of the kind attempted before. Members of the League subscribed a large sum to defray the expenses; a magnificent procession was planned, and numerous committees were appointed to take charge of every particular of the ceremonies. Other Leagues throughout the country were invited to participate; the clergymen of Philadelphia were to be asked to deliver, on the Sunday, the day following the 4th, sermons from one text,—that inscribed on the bell of Independence Hall: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof." President Lincoln had promised to be present. Citizens were requested to decorate their houses, and it was expected that a demonstration would be made which would carry conviction in all quarters that the manufacturing metropolis of the country was fully imbued with an invincible loyalty. This conviction, however, was to be conveyed, as it turned out, by means very different from those contemplated.

By the twelfth day of June it had become clear that, leaving Hooker at the Rappahannock weakened by his severe defeat at Chancellorsville, General Lee was moving upon Pennsylvania; one of his main objects, it was afterwards believed, being to take advantage of the disaffection still rampant there, and precipitate, if possible, an insurrection in the North. Pennsylvania was at once divided into military departments, under Generals Couch and W. T. H. Brooks.

Governor Curtin called on the people to raise a departmental corps for State defence. Four days later (June 16) he issued a second proclamation, demanding volunteers at once, to assist in meeting the President's requisition for fifty thousand short-term soldiers from the threatened State. Mayor Henry followed with a proclamation urging citizens to close their places of business and connect themselves with existing military organizations. The State-House bell rang a public alarm for the first time in fourteen years. A little later the Home Guard and Gray Reserves were ordered out. But people in general were half paralyzed by the suddenness of the emergency, and delayed about volunteering. In this emergency the League felt that its duty was clear to abandon the projected celebration and throw itself into the work of defence against the invader. The Committee on Enlistment was appointed from among the subscribers to the Fourth of July fund, with power to equip forces. In a few days they had raised eighty thousand dollars, and it was not long before they sent three newly-formed regiments to the front, at their own expense. Business was now suspended; citizens began to arm and drill: instead of the clergymen preparing sermons on the chosen text, one hundred of them went out to assist in digging intrenchments for the protection of the city. A general meeting of the League was called, to be held at four o'clock on the afternoon of July 1, the call being signed by William D. Lewis, who said, "It is expected, as a duty to the cause of the Union, for which the League was formed, that every member will be present." A great number responded; and, as the object of their assembling was to

form among themselves a military company, to offer its services to General Dana, commandant of the defences of Philadelphia, a roll was opened, which was promptly signed by two hundred members. They then formed in the gardens attached to the house, and issuing forth with the League banner, preceded by music, paraded through the streets. Many of the foremost manufacturers, merchants, clergymen, and officials of Philadelphia were in the line, which was reviewed by General Dana; and it was thus made plain that these citizens were ready to take their places in the ranks the moment that they believed they could best serve the country by so doing. The parade drew out much enthusiasm, and its effect on other citizens was inspiring. But the next day brought the crisis of the campaign. Lee and Meade met and clashed at Gettysburg, and on the "promontory of bayonets" which there jutted out against the foe, the tide of rebel invasion was broken.

The enemies of the government, confident that Lee would soon enter the city, had placarded the names of prominent individuals in the League, hoping thus to mark them for special punishment at the hands of the rebels. But their season of vindictive anticipation was brief, and, instead of being themselves singled out for special chastisement in return, they were left to the more bitter fate of their increasing insignificance. So soon as the first half-uncertain tidings came that the enemy had been beaten back at Gettysburg, the League assembled and marched to the house occupied by the wife of General Meade, in Pine Street, where they serenaded her and assured her of their belief that the com-

mander's victory would prove to be complete and triumphant. A little after the news of Lee's defeat came the intelligence that Vicksburg had been taken by Grant, with thirty-seven thousand prisoners. Mr. George Trott, of the Committee on Enlistments, recalls that while he was engaged in paying bounties for the League regiments just raised, he heard the bells of the city break out in a tumultuous ringing, and demanding the cause, was answered, "Grant has taken Vicksburg!" He immediately quitted the League house; a band of music was engaged to post itself in the belfry of Independence Hall, crowds having collected below; and a sort of popular *Te Deum* service was held. Rev. Phillips Brooks and the Rev. Dr. Brainerd made prayers, and at a given signal the band, in the belfry of the venerable and hallowed edifice, raised the sonorous strains of "Old Hundred."

A fortnight later three gentlemen were brought before United States Commissioner A. H. Smith, on charges of "conspiracy against the government, correspondence with rebels, and high treason." One of them was the president of a Philadelphia college, who was accused of writing to a rebel friend, "The cry in the streets, of the fall of Vicksburg, is killing me by inches." The fact is of moment as showing how, in the midst of national jubilation over two victories so obviously the beginning of extinction for the rebellion, the old disloyal poison, to which the League had provided such potent antidotes, continued to work. Deprived of their hope that disaster would overcome the Union armies, the anti-war party now began fresh efforts to attain success at the polls. Judge Woodward—the same whose desire to have Pennsylv-

vania included in the Southern Confederacy has been noted*—was put in nomination by the Democrats, for the governorship, as against the able incumbent, Andrew G. Curtin, who had used his utmost powers in furtherance of the war. Judge Woodward had also been of the Supreme Court majority adverse to the Enrollment Act. The Union League, recognizing no issue between parties beyond that of support or non-support of the government in putting down rebellion, threw itself heartily into the campaign on the side of Governor Curtin. Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, who at that time was chairman of the State Central Committee of the Republican party, had the full confidence and sympathy of his fellow-Leaguers, and they gave him powerful assistance. The League Treasurer, Mr. James L. Claghorn, who also held the post of treasurer to the several committees, went about among the members of the League, acting on his own responsibility, and collected for use, in the legitimate expenses of the canvass, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars,—a donation so much beyond absolute needs, and so well husbanded by Mr. MacVeagh, that a substantial portion of it was afterwards returned and passed over to the Board of Publication. That board, meanwhile, was incessantly active in circulating papers on the *habeas corpus* and other questions. Virtual insurrection had broken out in New York in the form of the Draft Riots in July; and, were the Democracy to gain power in Pennsylvania as it had done there, it was felt that the battle of Gettysburg might have to be

* Chapter II.

repeated, with the adverse condition of a State executive inclined to treat with the rebels and cripple all resistance.

The result of the election on October 13 was a majority of fifteen thousand votes for Governor Curtin, and the Republicans controlled every branch of the State government. At about the same time Ohio was carried for the same party by more than one hundred thousand majority. As Vermont, Maine, and California had all gone heavily Republican in the previous month, the return of the people to their allegiance appeared to be decisive. For these triumphs the League, which had toiled unstintedly to effect them, no doubt deserved a large share of the credit. Its influence had gone out through all the Northern States. On October 10 it once more appeared in procession, this time to receive Governor Curtin at the close of the campaign, and escort him to the League House.

"The Union League of Philadelphia," says the Secretary in his first annual report, "moved slowly, and we may even say reluctantly, into active public life; but we were impelled towards this career by the very law of our being." When, therefore, the association took sides in the gubernatorial campaign, it set forth its reasons for so doing in an address adopted at a special meeting, September 16.* From the

* Extracts from the address will be found in the *Documentary History*. The Committee on Address and Resolutions comprised Messrs. J. C. Knox, Charles Gibbons, N. B. Browne, Edward Shippen, B. H. Brewster, W. H. Ashhurst, Charles Gilpin, Daniel Dougherty, Benjamin Gerhard, James Milliken, Morris S. Halliwell, H. C. Carey, John W.

beginning regular Monday evening meetings had been held, at which orators, both local and of other States, spoke to the members; and these meetings, interrupted for a time, were resumed with good effect in the course of the campaign.

During the year a medal had been devised, which the Directors designed for presentation to officers of the government or of the army and navy, to whose services they wished to pay tribute in a form which the sentiment of gratitude naturally takes,—a form not dependent for its value on the intrinsic worth of the token offered, but on the feeling represented by it. In August they voted a gold medal of this kind to President Lincoln, and silver ones to his Cabinet, together with the following public men: Major-Generals Grant, Meade, Rosecrans, Halleck, Banks, Burnside, Q. A. Gillmore, McDowell, Butler, Hooker, Sigel, Couch, Dana, and Cadwalader, and Brigadier-Generals Lorenzo Thomas and W. D. Whipple. Governor Curtin and Colonel George A. Croswell were similarly distinguished. In the navy, Admirals Farragut and Porter, Captain Worden, and the widow of Admiral Foote were the recipients of medals. Others were sent to Josiah Quincy and to those French and English advocates of our Union who had done us so disinterested a service abroad,—Laboulaye, Gasparin, John Bright, Richard Cobden, Cairns.

There had been many men in the League who had lent it willing and priceless service of time, thought, and assiduous

Forney, Daniel Smith, Jr., James L. Claghorn, J. G. Fell, J. I. Clark Hare, Morton McMichael, George H. Boker.

attention to details; none more so than Daniel Smith, Jr., and the late William D. Lewis, who, without being prominent in any office or committee, were always at hand to help with the wisdom of experience and with fires of enthusiasm unquenched by age. Mr. Lewis, formerly Collector of the Port, although at this period a man of seventy years, had been the first to call together a Committee of Defence and Protection after the attack on Sumter, and suggested the military exertions of the League, which began in 1863. Uncompromising towards all foes of the Union, he was bold, prompt, and untiring in his efforts to defeat them. Mr. Smith, who survives at the date of this writing in his ninety-first year, was the trusted and revered companion of those younger than himself, whose shoulders were steadily set to the wheel. In love of country and fervor of principle, he became coeval with them. His earnestness, his frankness and affection, his many-sided interest in the situation of the hour, supplied an inspiration to all who came under the influence of his presence. No record would be complete which should omit the significant part taken by Mr. Smith and Mr. Lewis,—“venerable gentlemen,” as Mr. McMichael happily characterized them in later years, “co-servitors in their fresh youth, co-mates in their robust prime, coadjutors in their serene decline.” But there were two other members who had especially distinguished themselves by making the League’s duties the chief concern of their daily lives. These were the Secretary, Mr. Boker, and the Treasurer, Mr. Claghorn. The former, in the midst of vexatious private affairs, gave himself up almost wholly to the formal conduct of the

League's business, to its correspondence, and the drafting of important documents; but he found time at intervals to write those eloquent ballads and other lyrics of the war, which ran their course through the press of the land, and woke eager echoes in the hearts of the people and the armies. However discouraging the situation might be, he was never known for an hour to give way to depression, but constantly reanimated the drooping spirits of his associates. Mr. Claghorn, on his part, neglecting opportunities for private gain in business, governed the financial interests of the League with a hand at once prudent and generous, and was present in its halls day and night, ready to help or advise. Moreover, it was largely due to his skill and industry that the enormous subscriptions needed for the several enterprises of the League were so readily obtained; all of them being gained by individual appeal, since no other tax than the annual dues could be imposed by the Directors. Hence it was natural that certain of their coadjutors should have singled out these gentlemen as the objects of a compliment at the close of their first year in office. The anniversary of the foundation of the League occurred on Sunday, so that its celebration was put off until the next day; but, an exceptional storm preventing the calling together of members, those who had prepared the testimonials sent them to the houses of the two officers just referred to. For the Secretary they had procured a pen-holder of gold, made from melted coin of the United States, and for the Treasurer a silver check-cutter, the material of which was also obtained from the National mintage. The two gifts

were as appropriate as they were merited, and both were cordially acknowledged.

The second annual meeting of the League took place December 14, 1863, and the entire government as at first constituted was re-elected. The Board was authorized to apply for an act of incorporation, and the acknowledgments of the meeting were tendered to the officers and Directors "for the fidelity and ability with which they have conducted the affairs of the League during the first year of its organization." From the sixty-odd names first signed, the roll of the League had grown until it now embraced nine hundred and sixty-eight members, and the Strangers' Register showed the signatures of fifteen hundred visitors to the house; among them were the Episcopal Convention and the Presbyterian General Assembly. It was significant that officers of the army and navy made the club-house their frequent resort; and we must not forget that at that time these branches of the public service still needed much training to prepare them for recognition of the true issue involved in the war,—namely, the restoration of Union without slavery. In educating them to this view, the League performed a duty not the least of those it fulfilled.

Such is the brief outline of what was accomplished during the first twelve months of the League's life. Let no one hereafter, because all the particulars of that stirring period cannot be reproduced with the vividness and thrill of their actual occurrence, presume to cast any reflection upon the true-hearted citizens who, remaining at their homes, perceived the deadly disease that lurked in the very bosom of

the nation, and applied themselves to its cure. It would be difficult to over-estimate their deeds, or to imagine adequately the anguish and the courage and the endurance which were part of their experience. They poured out their money like water, contributing during this year, besides the fifty thousand dollars required for the support of their house, probably close upon a quarter of a million dollars to renew the sinews of war, both military and political. They had given of their blood and brain, not indeed by offering them to the swift annihilation of sword or shell, but by the waste attending strenuous exertion, intense and anxious thought, and the prolonged physical labor which had to be accomplished after business hours or by the sacrifice of their own affairs. Not content with corporate action, individuals of the League had constantly been associated with the Sanitary Commission, the Christian Commission, and the Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon for soldiers. The local Soldiers' Claim and Pension Agency also was composed of League members. In fine, the members had striven as a whole and severally to maintain and strengthen every agency which could in any way unify the reserve forces of the nation, and bring them to bear on the great, ultimate object of the struggle.

VI.

THE BOARD OF PUBLICATION.

THE Board of Publication grew immediately out of a motion made by Mr. Benjamin Gerhard, in the Board of Directors, February 17, 1863, that a committee of three, with power to add to their number from members of the League, should be appointed to print and distribute useful information; but it was provided that the fund for their use should be raised entirely by voluntary subscription. Messrs. Gerhard, Ashhurst, and Townsend were appointed, and soon associated with themselves Mr. Lindley Smyth and several others. Their first plan was to raise a sum the interest of which should suffice for their purposes, and the members of the committee began the subscription by each giving two hundred and fifty dollars, which was fixed upon as the minimum contribution to be received from any individual. In this way thirty-five thousand dollars were soon obtained; but it was found that an invested fund would not suffice for the work; that the money must be spent as fast as required, and more must be raised for subsequent needs. So extensive did the field thus entered upon prove to be, that a simple committee could not cover it. In this way the Board of Publication, with its several sub-committees, was developed.

It was composed of twenty-eight gentlemen. The officers of the Board were these: Chairman, Benjamin Gerhard; Treasurer, James L. Claghorn; Secretary, M. H. Messchert; and Assistant Secretary, C. Izard Maceuen. The members were W. H. Ashhurst, Alexander Brown, Stephen Colwell, George M. Conarroe, J. Gillingham Fell, John W. Field, Benjamin P. Hunt, Henry Lewis, Bloomfield H. Moore, N. B. Browne, Henry C. Lea, James W. Paul, George D. Parrish, Samuel C. Perkins, Evan Randolph, W. Henry Rawle, Lindley Smyth, Joseph B. Townsend, George Trott, W. M. Tilghman, Thomas Webster, Andrew Wheeler, Ellis Yarnall.

These, again, were subdivided into three committees of the Board,—one on Finance, with Mr. Lindley Smyth as chairman; a second on Publication, under Mr. Stephen Colwell; and the third on Distribution. Of the last, Mr. W. H. Ashhurst was chairman.

The size and constitution of this Board indicate in themselves the magnitude of the task which it performed. There was, first, the selection of suitable matter to be considered; then came the details of publication, and the still more complicated duty of ascertaining where documents could be sent to the best advantage. The Committee on Finance supplied the means required, and Mr. Smyth became in addition the head of the Board, succeeding Mr. Gerhard on the latter's untimely death. Under his management the functions of the Board were conducted with eminent success until its activity ceased, in November, 1866, with the advent of a more settled period. Below the committee-room was an

apartment where printed matter was folded and mailed, and a force of a dozen clerks was constantly employed during the first two and busier years of the Board. The publications were various in character, being adapted to different classes of minds, and containing arguments in answer to all objections brought against the policy of the government or the continuance of the war, from whatever quarter. Among the first issued were letters from General Rosecrans, together with protests and resolutions passed by regiments in service, against the perversion of the Democratic party to an indirect abetting of the public enemy. These were followed in March, 1863, by a pamphlet which detailed the precedents in our own history for the use of negro soldiers; this by way of preparing the popular mind for that measure which thoughtful men already saw to be inevitable. Later on a masterly *brochure* by Dr. Charles J. Stillé, on "How a Free People conduct a Long War," was taken up. It reviewed the history of English opinion during the Peninsular war, to show how the same popular impatience, the same quick despondency over defeat, which had been noticeable in the Northern States during the prevailing struggle, had existed in England at that earlier period, and how it had been eclipsed by the slowly-formed determination to succeed in spite of all drawbacks of military reverse, increasing debt, and opposition in Parliament. It was easy to demonstrate how much better was our situation than that of England had been, and to draw from her success a lesson of encouragement. This pamphlet was a clarion voice, reviving the faint-hearted at one of the most trying epochs of the civil

strife. Wherever the Board found brave words apt to the crisis, whether uttered in speech or silently sent forth from the scholar's study, it seized upon and multiplied them by the press, so that all might read and heed. Speeches, letters, essays, the product of the best minds, were thus circulated. Among the men represented by these publications were Stillé, Francis Lieber, Governor Curtin, Salmon P. Chase, Horace Binney, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, George H. Boker, Goldwin Smith, Dr. W. H. Bellows, Carl Schurz. Collected, the documents sent out by the Board form to-day a curious and complete arsenal of logical weapons wrought for the defence of the Union, and show in what sturdy fashion the war of ideas was waged, which supplemented so effectually the valor of our armies.

In 1863 the Board distributed more than a million copies of pamphlets in English and German; in 1864, one million forty-four thousand nine hundred. In the year after the end of the war it still circulated fifty-six thousand three hundred and eighty, and in 1866, eight hundred and sixty-seven thousand more. The distribution for 1867 amounted to thirty-one thousand nine hundred and eighty-two; that for 1868 reached the enormous total of one million four hundred and sixteen thousand nine hundred and six documents. But this is only a part of what it did; for it sent out large numbers of publications, not recorded, which were printed by other associations. It undertook, likewise, the important task of securing for doubtful voters subscriptions to loyal newspapers, which by steady iteration day after day educated the wavering into Union beliefs.

In the Presidential campaign of 1864 the Board effected a thorough canvass of the State of Pennsylvania, put itself in communication with the local chairman of every school-district in the Commonwealth, and, having ascertained by name what voters were doubtful, concentrated upon these with signal success a stream of ideas in print. Another mode in which its influence operated must not be overlooked. Postmasters, school-teachers, and other persons were induced to act as distributing agents for the Board; and the mass of information and argument which thus came under their notice, as they disseminated it, had its effect on their own minds, so that where they had perhaps hitherto been lukewarm they became fired with a fresh zeal.

The sums of money collected by the committee from League members were very large; but, unfortunately, no record of the amount is now accessible. Breaking the continuity of this chronicle for a moment, and passing on to the time when the chairman, Mr. Smyth, resigned his office, we may learn at a glance what estimate his co-members placed on the achievements of the committee. At the annual meeting of the League, December, 1868, on motion of Mr. N. B. Browne, these resolutions were unanimously adopted:

“Resolved, That the members of the Union League of Philadelphia have learned with unaffected regret that Lindley Smyth, Esq., late chairman of their Committee of Publication, has declined to allow his name to be presented as a candidate for re-election to the Board of Directors.

“Resolved, That no department of the work of the League has been of more real service to the country, or reflected more true and lasting

honor upon the League itself, than its department of publication, at that most critical period in our country's history, the autumn of 1863, when Governor Curtin was a candidate for re-election. He declared openly that he owed his success to the Union League of Philadelphia, which, as he playfully said, 'had plastered the State with its handbills.' Other publications by the committee, of calmer tone and higher argument, instructed and encouraged the minds and the hearts of our fellow-citizens throughout the whole of the great struggle, now through the Divine Providence so happily ended; and in this work nearly four and a half millions of documents have been by us distributed. This and all the laborious and useful work of the Committee of Publication, from its establishment in March, 1863, to the present time, has been directed by Mr. Lindley Smyth as its chairman, whose perseverance first collected the large necessary funds, and whose sagacity, political wisdom, administrative power, and untiring industry, exercised for nearly six continuous years, have, as we believe, conferred upon our Commonwealth and our whole Republic benefits which, though difficult to estimate and impossible to compensate, it now becomes our duty thus publicly to acknowledge.

"Resolved, That for the services to which we have now most imperfectly referred, we hereby tender to Lindley Smyth, Esq., the cordial thanks, the unlimited respect, and the profound gratitude of the Union League of Philadelphia.

"Resolved, That the Directors are hereby requested to tender to Mr. Lindley Smyth, on our behalf, the gold medal of the League, as a slight tribute from his friends and fellow-members, and to accompany it with a copy of these resolutions."

VII.

COMMITTEE ON ENLISTMENTS.

A PROMPT result of the excitement caused by Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania was that the League, at a meeting held June 27, 1863, appointed a committee to organize a regiment under its auspices. Of the gentlemen designated, J. Reese Fry was made chairman. His associates were Samuel Felton, J. Edgar Thomson, Ellerslie Wallace, M.D., James L. Claghorn, Horace Binney, Jr., Morton McMichael, George H. Crosman, J. I. Clark Hare, W. D. Lewis, George Whitney, and Andrew Wheeler.

Their first proceeding was to advertise in the public prints for volunteers to enter a three months' regiment, under the Governor's call. A high bounty was offered, and it was explained that "such necessary expenses as are not properly borne by the government will be defrayed from a fund raised by the members of the League." So rapidly did the ranks begin to fill up that by July 4—only a week after the committee came into existence—recruits were called for to be enrolled in a *second* regiment. Before December three full regiments, known collectively as the Union League Brigade, had been raised and placed at the disposal of the national government, under the command of Colonel William D.

Whipple. The first of these, which at the start was called the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Chasseurs, was headed by Lieutenant-Colonel T. Ellwood Zell, the second by Colonel George P. McLean, and the last by Colonel Gray. In addition to the above forces, five companies of League cavalry were recruited at the same time. The winter of 1863-64 saw another full regiment put into the field by the committee,—the Fourth Union League,—which was mustered in as the One Hundred and Eighty-Third Pennsylvania Volunteers. This regiment was enlisted for three years. One hundred days' men were required in July, 1864, and the Fifth Union League, or One Hundred and Ninety-Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel Neff, responded to the demand. Shortly afterward the Sixth Union League (One Hundred and Ninety-Eighth Pennsylvania) was organized, under Colonel Sickel, to serve for a year. It consisted of three battalions, numbering about fourteen hundred men. Again, in December of 1864, during the chairmanship of Mr. James H. Orne, the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Union League Regiments were formed, under command of Colonels John A. Gorgas, D. B. McKibben, and Francis Wister, constituting respectively the Two Hundred and Thirteenth, Two Hundred and Fourteenth, and Two Hundred and Fifteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers. Thus, in all, the Committee on Enlistments gave to the service, during these two closing years of the war, a body of ten thousand troops. The sums raised and disbursed by them in this remarkable enterprise amounted to one hundred and eight thousand dollars.

By the time the last regiment was completed, the war

came abruptly to an end and the committee dissolved; but some of the forces despatched by them to the front had been able to take an active and important share in the campaigns. The One Hundred and Eighty-Third Regiment, led by Colonel George P. McLean, went at once into the fight at the Wilderness, and continued with Grant through the whole of the severe campaign which there began, being engaged in many of the battles that took place on the march to Petersburg. In the siege of Petersburg it went frequently into action, always with conspicuous gallantry. After a few months its numbers had become reduced to one hundred and fifty men, so great was the depletion by death and disease; but, with ranks partially refilled by disbanding veterans and fresh recruits, it kept its place in the field, constantly active, until the surrender of Lee. Colonel Horatio G. Sickel's One Hundred and Ninety-Eighth (Sixth Union League) Regiment gained the highest kind of reputation in the Army of the Potomac. It was victorious in its very first struggle, which involved a difficult charge on the position of the enemy in front of Petersburg; and, with one New York regiment and a battery of artillery, it defeated and drove for a long distance, at the Battle of Lewis Farm, three of the best brigades in the Southern army, as was subsequently attested by General Ewell and other ex-Confederate officers. This was one of the last battles in Virginia, and was fought in March, 1865. Occurring on the extreme left, it was a critical engagement, and the valor of the One Hundred and Ninety-Eighth prevented serious disaster. Colonel Sickel was wounded on that occasion, and the two majors of the

regiment, Glenn and Maceuen, were killed. It pushed on, nevertheless, assisted in the Battle of Five Forks, and co-operated with Sheridan in the final manœuvres which terminated at Appomattox Court-House.

The hundred days' men of Colonel Neff were employed in guarding rebel prisoners in Illinois; but even in that comparatively obscure duty they distinguished themselves for discipline and efficiency. Although the last three regiments recruited by the League were not called upon to do battle, they all proved to be useful in performing garrison and other duty throughout the unsettled period of the months following the surrender of the Southern armies, when the country was making the transition to a state of peace. The Two Hundred and Fourteenth (Eighth Union League) was not, in fact, mustered out until March, 1866, almost a year after the rebellion was over.

Thus the name and inspiration of the Union League were carried forward amid the clash of arms, over the fields of fire and death, to meet the foe in front, as they had already been made to oppose the enemy at home; and some of the League troops remained in the service when open insurrection had long ceased, just as the League itself, as we shall see, continued to battle for the principles of its foundation when the military attack had been exchanged for a civil one.

The first chairman of the Committee on Enlistments, Mr. J. Reese Fry, died in office early in 1864, and was succeeded by Mr. James H. Orne, a public-spirited merchant, who had become one of the committee after its appointment, and had manifested extraordinary devotion to its aims. His energy

and efficiency were such that, under his supervision, the One Hundred and Ninety-Eighth Regiment completed its organization in the short space of five weeks. The last three regiments were also raised with uncommon rapidity, recalling the enthusiasm of the early months of the war. Mr. Orne, Mr. George Trott, and Mr. N. B. Browne were unremitting in their activity. Mr. Trott himself took a short course of military instruction, and drilled some of the recruits for the first League Regiment, besides which the committee had many duties not included in the organizing of troops. Their correspondence was extensive; they kept up communication with officers at the front, and took a quick interest in looking after everything that promised to be of use to the War Department or to foster enlightened opinion in the army. Mr. Orne, too, became convinced that the prevailing system of local bounties was disadvantageous to the recruiting interest; and a memorial on this subject was presented by the committee to Congress, with the effect of bringing about important changes in the Enrollment Act.

The Committee on Enlistments and the Board of Publication, which embraced some of the same members, were both virtually in perpetual session, and the gentlemen conducting their affairs never permitted private interests to interfere with the larger obligations they had assumed. These two bodies performed a work which was unique. No other organization in the country could show such results as the League accomplished through these two committees, and the record of their career presents, in a striking and objective form, the general spirit of the Union League which gave them life.

VIII.

THE RAISING OF NEGRO TROOPS.

Not a little of what the League accomplished sprang out of the casual but regularly recurring encounters at the League house of different kinds of minds imbued with a sentiment in common. Dreamers, thinkers, men of practical affairs, met and conversed; a suggestion, a passing thought, at once received consideration in various lights, and, if it had value, began to assume substantial shape. One or two groups, like that which came to be known as "The Five-Twenties," assembled regularly and discussed various measures which it seemed to them advisable to agitate, or measures which they could carry out for the general benefit when there was not time for the governing board to convene and act upon the matter. But a great deal was also done by individuals without the aid of any such concerted agency; and it was in this manner that the project of enlisting negro soldiers was executed. Although undertaken under the auspices of a number of citizens, some of whom were not members of the League, its inception was in that association, and the leader of the enterprise was Mr. Thomas Webster, who had entered the League at an early date in its history.

The question of arming the blacks in defence of the

Union had been brought into Congressional debate about the middle of 1862, when Senator Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, presented a bill which amended the act of 1795, as to the manner of calling out militia. Finally, on the motion of Senator Preston King, of New York, an amendment was adopted authorizing the employment of "persons of African descent for constructing intrenchments, or any war service." Previous to that, Representative John Hickman, of Pennsylvania, had introduced a bill authorizing the enlistment of colored troops, in March, 1862; but he withdrew it again before it could be acted upon or even recorded. The whole subject was approached with timidity, and not until February 10, 1863, was the amendment to the Enrollment Act, offered by Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, accepted and recorded, authorizing the reception of negro volunteers into the United States army. The issue involved was as bitterly contested as had been the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln. It was in the spring of 1863 that the Governor of Massachusetts, John Andrew, obtained permission from the Secretary of War to raise three years' companies of colored men for the artillery and the infantry service. Thus empowered, he enrolled two negro regiments; but when it was proposed that they should march through the city of New York on their way to the seat of war, the chief of police of that metropolis stated that it would be impossible in such event to protect them from insult and probable assault; hence they were transported from Boston by water, without stopping at New York.

For months it had been in the minds of certain members

of the Union League of Philadelphia to take action for the organizing of colored regiments; but the prejudice still existing against such a measure in the chief city of Pennsylvania was so strong that the time was not deemed ripe for decisive procedure until June, 1863. On the 8th of that month a meeting to consider the subject was held in the League house. It was presided over by William D. Lewis, and addressed by Colonel Lafayette Bingham, and by Major George L. Stearns, of Boston. It was found that more than eleven hundred negroes in Pennsylvania had been enrolled for regiments in other States; and the opinion gained ground that the State ought itself to secure credit for such of its colored inhabitants as were disposed to volunteer, by hereafter forming them into regiments hailing from Pennsylvania. By June 18 there appeared in one of the morning journals a copy of correspondence between certain gentlemen of Philadelphia and Secretary Stanton, in which it was set forth that two hundred and seventy-six citizens had presented a memorial begging to be allowed to raise "three regiments of colored men from this part of Pennsylvania" for the war, and that permission to that effect had been granted.* A committee of sixty citizens, with Thomas Webster for Chairman, Cadwalader Biddle, Secretary, and Singleton A. Mercer, Treasurer,† was thereupon formed, under the name of Supervisory Committee for the Enlistment of Colored Troops, and took up its quarters at 1210 Chestnut Street, not far from the League house. Major George L. Stearns, of Massachusetts, was deputed by the War

* See Documentary History. † All members of the League.

Department to superintend the recruiting; and Lieutenant-Colonel C. F. Ruff, of the Third United States Cavalry, was instructed to receive and muster into service one regiment of ten companies, each to be eighty strong. A large meeting of respectable colored citizens assembled at Franklin Hall on the evening of the 24th, to encourage enlistments. The work went forward briskly and with enthusiasm. Camp William Penn was established at Chelton Hills soon afterward, and placed in charge of Colonel Louis Wagner of the Eighty-Eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers. The first squad of eighty colored recruits was sent thither June 26. By July 24 the first regiment was full, and it became a part of the National forces, with the title of Third United States Regiment, Colored Troops. It was publicly announced to make a street parade in Philadelphia on the 1st of August; but so much excitement was known to exist among those who disapproved the employment of negroes in the war, that the Republican Mayor of the city sent advices to Washington which resulted in an order from the War Department to Colonel Wagner to embark the troops without parading.

The Supervisory Committee, continuing to enlist men with unabated vigor, had its second regiment (Sixth United States) completed by September 14, and proceeded with the formation of still another, to be known as the Eighth United States, Colored Troops. As soon as a battalion of the latter had been filled up and sufficiently drilled, a review of both the regiment and the battalion at Camp William Penn was advertised for September 24, which citizens were invited to attend. This made a good intermediate step in the carrying

out of the purpose to which the committee had all along clung, of holding a parade in the city. Free blacks had been employed in the Revolutionary army and highly esteemed by Washington: even slaves had been manumitted to take their places in the patriot ranks; Jackson again had appealed for and received the aid of colored freemen at New Orleans; and in the existing civil war liberated slaves had distinguished themselves on the field at Port Hudson and in South Carolina, fighting for the Union and Emancipation. But all this made no impression on the minds of the peace party in Philadelphia, or served merely to enrage them the more against the radical measure which they now saw successfully prosecuted in their midst. Even the Unionists were in many cases strongly prejudiced against these sable allies. They saw in their enlistment the forerunner of great changes in the status of a race whose inferiority had, up to this time, been strongly insisted upon by a scornful and unjust mode of treating them in public; and they feared, likewise, that the adoption of this new policy would react unfavorably on the Administration and imperil Republican success in the next Presidential election. When, therefore, it was learned that the Sixth United States, under Colonel John W. Ames, and a battalion of the Eighth, would positively march through Philadelphia on October 3, serious apprehensions were entertained by many of the friends of the government. It was generally thought that an outbreak would occur somewhere on the line of march; and doubtless any imprudence, either of timidity or aggression, on the part of those who planned and led the parade, would have precipitated a combat. The

members of the Committee and the commander of the troops, however, were at once cautious and confident. They did not believe in the supposed danger; but the officers carried loaded revolvers, to be used in an emergency. The soldiers, on the contrary, were not trusted with any ammunition; those of the Sixth had merely their muskets, and the companies of the Eighth marched entirely without arms. There was no police escort; but Colonel Wagner rode at the head of the column, and his stern, determined expression convinced those who had indefinitely meditated disturbance that they would be worsted in any attack. The troops followed their route through a number of the principal streets, stopped at the Union Volunteer Refreshment Saloon, and passed in review before General George Cadwalader, who took his station on the steps of the Union League House. Everywhere the streets were thronged with crowds, anxious, impressed, secretly hostile or openly exultant; but the expected collision did not occur. Moral bravery, quiet confidence in a just cause, loyalty and freedom, had triumphed completely in face of a noisy opposition. It was felt that the tread of the black soldiery on the pavement that day would echo long through the future. The parade had marked the beginning of a new era, and its success sent a thrill through those who greeted the advance of larger ideas, for they recognized the great stride taken since the Mayor's inhibition, two months before. One sturdy Quaker abolitionist, standing beside another member of the League as they watched the files go by, exclaimed, "I have been an abolitionist all my life, but you gentlemen of the Supervisory Committee,

in bringing about this parade, have gone further than I ever would have done!" Nothing could show better the hesitant mood in which some of the firmest friends of the negro had remained until the decisive move had been made.

The Supervisory Committee, which had begun by raising thirty-three thousand three hundred and eighty-eight dollars, with the intention of forming only three regiments, conducted matters so well that it was able to create two more—the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Fifth United States—without further subscription. These were ready, the first on January 6, 1864, and the second on February 3. The swiftness and economy with which the recruiting of these troops, numbering nearly five thousand men, had been effected were almost unexampled in the history of the war.

The officering of black regiments was a very important matter, and many veterans who had risen to captaincies and colonelcies in the field failed to satisfy the Board of Examiners at Washington, when applying for the command of negroes. Observing this, the Supervisory Committee opened at its headquarters a Free Military School, to train applicants for such commands. It was under the direction of Colonel John H. Taggart, and had an attendance of over one hundred and sixty students. Few who went through its brief but thorough and practical course of instruction failed to pass the Board examination; and as the colored volunteers of the Union soon aggregated more than one hundred thousand, the committee, by means of this school, rendered invaluable aid to the government in making the new contingents effective under competent command.

IX.

THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

At a special meeting of the League, January 11, 1864, Vice-President Borie in the chair, it was, on motion of Morton McMichael, seconded by William D. Lewis, unanimously agreed that President Lincoln ought, in the best interests of the country, to be renominated for the chief magistracy of the United States.* At the same time, on motion of William D. Lewis, seconded by John B. Myers, it was resolved that, as Sanitary Fairs had recently been held under the auspices of the Sanitary Commission in Chicago, Cincinnati, and Boston, "the Union League strongly recommend to the Philadelphia branch of the United States Sanitary Commission to organize here, under its auspices, a Sanitary Fair, the proceeds of which shall be devoted by the Commission to promote the health, comfort, and efficiency of the soldier in active service."

By this action the League initiated, and pledged itself to sustain, two very important measures, which, with its various other undertakings, provided a copious programme of employment for the year 1864.

* For the resolutions embodying this conviction, see *Documentary History*.

The Birthday of Washington, which was also the anniversary of the League's formal induction into its house, became the occasion of an interesting and graceful ceremony, on the presentation of a flag which had been made by certain Philadelphia ladies to the League. The general celebration of the day throughout the city was more brilliant and enthusiastically patriotic than any local observance of a National holiday for many years had been, and this largely through cumulative League influence in the preceding year. At one o'clock, February 22, about three thousand ladies and gentlemen having assembled in the house, under the care of a Reception Committee,* Mr. McMichael called the company to order, and introduced Mr. Daniel Dougherty, who presented the banner on behalf of the donors. Alluding to them, he said, "They have given more than their lives,—they have sacrificed their hearts, their hopes, their happiness. . . . This on our part is the noblest struggle, the most momentous issue, the most glorious war ever waged on earth; and its vigorous prosecution, though it last thirty years, is the sleeping and waking thought,—the business and a part of the religion of true American women. . . . To you, members of the Union League, the ladies of Philadelphia present this flag, touched by no hireling hand, but shaped and wrought into beauty by these fair ladies, who, born under its protecting folds, hope yet to see the day when, blessed with a lasting peace, it shall be hailed with universal joy as it floats over every inch of American soil."

* Dr. Wilson C. Swann, Messrs. Fairman Rogers, Henry M. Watts, George Trott, Alexander Brown, and James W. Paul.

Mr. George H. Boker, the Secretary of the League, replied in fitting terms. "I need not say to you, ladies," he observed in the course of his remarks, "that from the day of its organization you have cordially recognized the services which the Union League has done for the National cause which engrosses our individual sympathies. We are proud of that acknowledgment. One of the chief sources of our strength has been in the applause which greets our labors from the domestic circle. . . . After the League, through an entire year, has to a greater or less degree deprived you of the companionship of your husbands, your fathers, and your brothers, you come to our doors with your gentle company, decorated by the glorious symbol before me, and reverently bestow the standard on our institution. The flag is woman's visible benediction upon the League. It says as plainly as your orator could utter it, 'Well done!' It says more. It says, 'There is the crimson of our blood; here is the whiteness of our purity; here is the heaven of our faith; here are the stars of our hopes. Take them all! Take all that is in woman's nature and use it ungrudgingly in our country's service! Noble offering! Nobler sacrifice!'"

In June the Sanitary Fair was opened, with brilliant success. Many of those who conducted it were Leaguers, and the Board of Directors of the League, by opening correspondence on the subject with Leagues throughout Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, had excited much interest and stimulated valuable co-operation in rendering the exhibits complete and attractive. The war trophies belonging to the association were also loaned to the Fair.

President Lincoln attended its opening, and was afterwards invited to the League house, where he was welcomed in a speech by Mr. Dougherty and gave a reception to the members. The time was near when the League was to afford him memorable support in his second campaign for the Presidency. Its resolutions had been sent to him long in advance of the Baltimore Convention, and doubtless had a cogent influence upon its final choice; for there were some Republicans there whose individual preferences inclined them to overlook his just claims and to risk a change of leaders even in so critical a situation. General McClellan being the nominee of the opposition, his enormous popularity made it necessary to put forth all possible strength in order to keep the central power in those hands which the Unionists believed could alone wield it to the destruction of the already weakened rebellion. The campaign became one of intense interest, and was conducted with unflagging energy on both sides. The Publication Committee used its resources to the utmost, and among many other documents which it circulated was a campaign newspaper called the *Union League Gazette*, made up of useful political information bearing on the issues of the time. Five hundred and sixty thousand copies were distributed in six weeks. The Committee of Seventy-Six was unceasingly busy, and for greater efficiency divided itself into various sub-committees. One of these was a Committee on Public Meetings. Concert Hall, just opposite the League house, was hired before the October State election, and meetings were held there on the night of every day except Sundays for six weeks continuously. "Its walls

nightly rang," says the Annual Report of the Directors, "with the eloquent voices of distinguished orators and with the plaudits of numerous audiences. A greatly increased Union majority in the city was the result of this awaking of public spirit." The speakers volunteered their services; and as they often came from long distances, their conduct in this respect was a striking proof of the high esteem in which they held the League and the efforts it was making. The State Central Committee in its public addresses, after the victory had been won, warmly acknowledged the important services of the League in contributing to the success of the Union cause at the polls.

During the year the Methodist Episcopal Conference, the Baptist Conference, and the Presbyterian General Assembly of the State, meeting in Philadelphia, were offered the hospitalities of the League, and many of the delegates made spirited addresses at the League house; thus strengthening for good the tie between this association and an important and intellectual class of the community. The work of the Committee on Enlistments for this period has already been described. At the annual meeting in December, the Hon. William M. Meredith having formally declined a renomination for the Presidency of the League,* Mr. J. Gillingham Fell was elected to fill his place, with Messrs. William H. Ashhurst, Morton McMichael, Adolph E. Borie, and Horace Binney, Jr., as Vice-Presidents. The gold medal of the League was voted to the retiring President.

* For the correspondence, see Documentary History.

The League entered its third year (1865) and passed through the first quarter. But while it was still engaged in zealously consolidating loyal elements, and reaching its strong arm out to take part in the war in Virginia, almost before it had quite lost the thrill of campaign excitement, and while it watched the progress of Sherman's march and Grant's cannonading, with no doubt as to their result, yet with uncertainty as to the time required; while it was thus waiting, watching, and working; suddenly, with as little resistance at last as a puff-ball, the rebellion collapsed: Lee and Johnston surrendered. The news that the Army of Northern Virginia had capitulated came to the League house in a manner involving a peculiar coincidence. The sister of the Treasurer, Mr. Claghorn, returning with another lady from a visit in the evening of April 10, 1865, met on the street a telegraph-boy, who volunteered the announcement that he was carrying the news of General Lee's surrender. Miss Claghorn asked where he was going. He replied, "To the office of the *Press*." She followed him, and, leaving at the editorial rooms a copy of the despatch, she obtained the original to take to the League house, whither Mrs. John W. Forney accompanied her. These two ladies brought it to the door, and retired. In this way the most important tidings received by the League since its foundation were transmitted by the hands of ladies. As they had been true in their sympathy with its objects, and one year before had signalized this sympathy by the presentation of a flag, so now they were able to inform the members that the immediate goal which had been set out for was won. The news

spread rapidly ; members flocked in from every quarter, and a scene of unbounded rejoicing ensued.

On February 21, at an adjourned meeting of the Board of Directors, it had been decided that, in honor of the recent recapture of Fort Sumter, the house of the Union League should be decorated with the National flag, during the next day, and illuminated at night. On motion of Mr. Henry C. Lea, it was also ordered that the following telegram should be sent on the anniversary of Washington's birthday to President Lincoln :

"TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES :

"The Union League of Philadelphia congratulates the President of the United States upon the success of the Federal arms under his wise administration, and especially upon the restoration of the National Flag to the ramparts of Fort Sumter, the scene of its first humiliation.

"By order of the Board of Directors.

"J. GILLINGHAM FELL, President."

It was the last opportunity which this loyal body had of communicating their sympathy to the leader of the people ; for before the confusion and congratulation attending the announcement of Lee's surrender had passed, the intelligence of Lincoln's assassination fell upon the jubilant North like a thunderbolt from the clearing sky. A special meeting of the Directors was called, and the President, Mr. Fell, addressed them in these words :

"GENTLEMEN,—I have called you together for the purpose of announcing officially the awful calamity which has befallen the nation in

the assassination of its chief magistrate at the critical period when we have so much need of his ability, disciplined judgment, and patriotism. We are overwhelmed by the suddenness and terrible circumstances of his death. We stand in wonder at the providence of God, and are made to know that his ways are not our ways. As the mind reverts to his dealings with his people in times past, its thoughts fall naturally upon the history of the great leader of Israel, who, after conducting his children through their protracted perils, breathed his last on the brink of the Promised Land. We mourn our leader with as sincere a sorrow, but we know that the same God who sustained them still lives, and has placed in the hands of our people the preservation of a great nation. Therefore, while we bow our heads in deep submission, let us address ourselves with energy to the responsibilities thus suddenly thrust upon us. To maintain order, obedience to the laws, and respect for the constituted authorities is the immediate duty of every citizen."

The gold medal of the League was at once sent to the new President, Andrew Johnson, and at a special meeting of the League on April 17 the co-operation of the organization was pledged to President Johnson, "to sustain him by all our efforts in the same principles and purposes which his predecessor has now sealed, as a martyr, with his blood." At this same meeting, Mr. McMichael made an impressive address, and prayer was offered by the Rev. Phillips Brooks. Mr. Charles Gibbons, in seconding the resolutions, spoke with great feeling and eloquence of the national loss, and Mr. Frederick Fraley pronounced a eulogy upon the dead President. It was also decided that a mourning badge should be devised, to be worn by members. The Directors named a committee to attend the funeral of President Lincoln, and

members of the League were requested to join in the escort which should assist at the obsequies in Philadelphia.

Throughout the eventful term over which we must now glance so rapidly, the League had given much care to the perfecting of its organization. A charter was received and adopted, May 22, 1864; and on January 1, 1865, a new code of By-Laws, being accepted, came into force. Meanwhile, in July of the former year, steps had been taken to secure new and permanent quarters. Unable to extend its lease of the Baldwin house, the association took up its abode temporarily at No. 1210 Chestnut Street, to await the completion of its present building on South Broad Street. This was opened to the use of members May 11, 1865. It had been intended to conduct inaugural ceremonies and to give a ball on that occasion, but all formal celebration was waived out of respect for the memory of the murdered Lincoln and the resulting state of popular sentiment, in which the League itself shared. At the close of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Fair, however, in the autumn, Lieutenant-General Grant held a brilliant reception at the League house, on the invitation of a committee of the Directors; and Major-General Meade and Chief Justice Chase were also entertained there. In furtherance of the appropriate decoration of the edifice, a Committee of Fine Arts and Trophies had been called into being; and during the two years reviewed in this chapter, silver medals had been presented to a number of persons. Among these were Major-General Sheridan and Major-General George H. Thomas, Captain John Winslow, Lieutenant Cushing, U.S.N., Rear-Admiral Porter, Professor Goldwin Smith, Hugh Mc-

Culloch, Secretary of the Treasury, and Ishmael Day, of Maryland. In September the Treasurer, Mr. Claghorn, after long and devoted service to the League, resigned on the eve of an absence from the country, and was released from duty, though not without cordial testimony to the esteem in which he was held.* At the annual election of 1865 the President and Vice-Presidents in office were re-elected, and Mr. Edward S. Clarke was soon after appointed Treasurer, to take Mr. Claghorn's place.

Although the most stirring episodes that its history was likely to furnish for a long time to come had now passed, the League, with a membership increased to nearly eighteen hundred, and an unsettled political horizon straining the eyes of the nation, did not feel that its aims were materially altered or to be lost sight of. The Directors, through Mr. Boker, declared that "certainly the Union League, which from its organization to the present day has been the unwavering herald and civic soldier of the grand principles which animated the late war, should not, because the open contest is over, resign itself to a fatal torpor, and permit the fruits of all our exertions to slip from our grasp, while machinations more dangerous than military strategy are being stealthily advanced and as adroitly withdrawn before they can meet with popular rebuke. The high uses of this association of loyal men will not pass away until the last embers of the Rebellion are trampled out and no spark remains with which to rekindle it; until the very passions

* See Resolutions, Documentary History.

which arrayed the two sections of our country in hostility have become matters of history, and the whole people from ocean to ocean and from Canada to Mexico have become one homogeneous mass of contented and sympathetic men."

X.

THE LEAGUE'S COURSE AFTER THE WAR.

WITH the beginning of the year 1866 the Union League entered a phase of existence in some respects distinctly different from that under which it had previously appeared. The immediate practical demands of the war situation had been fully satisfied; but many things remained to be done in order to perfect the cohesion of the States, recently arrayed against one another in mortal combat, and now brought face to face in the trying attitude of reconciliation between victor and vanquished. Nothing more remarkable, it is safe to say, has ever been witnessed in the course of human history than the process of healing which now ensued upon the terrible wound that armed strife had inflicted upon the civil body of this people. Two powerful sections of a young, great, and ardent nation, after being thrown into a state of deadly discord which endured for four years, were to be reunited in the peaceful task of governing themselves together for the common good: more than that, with all the old passions of rivalry still alive, they were to learn how to conduct this mutual self-government on a higher plane, with larger toleration and wider views, than had ever been recognized under the conditions antecedent to the war. The accomplishing of

such a result may be called a supreme piece of political surgery, in which the genius of republicanism manifested a triumphant skill, an inborn aptitude for the government of men. But the operation was attended with extreme peril, and with exigencies requiring nice management and a firm hand. In transferring its activity from the region of open warfare between the government and violent rebellion, to the sphere of statecraft and popular debate in which reconstruction was carried on, the League proved itself to be instinct with true civic vitality and thoroughly equal to the emergency.

The first problem which it had to encounter was the recreancy of Andrew Johnson, who had succeeded to the Presidency of the United States, in attempting to compromise and finally to abandon the principles of his illustrious predecessor. The oligarchic spirit speedily reasserted itself in the South: an attempt was made to establish the former condition of society there in a new guise, and, by means of unjust laws, to fasten slavery again upon the liberated blacks. The President, with a misguided ambition that ended in treachery, sought to throw the local government of the Southern States into the hands of those who had led them to rebellion, and a breach was thus at once made between himself and Congress. In February, 1866, memorials signed by large numbers of the Leaguers were presented to the Board of Directors, praying them to call a general meeting to sustain Congress; but at that time definite action was deemed inexpedient, and the proposition was rejected. The government of the League was evidently determined to pro-

ceed with due care and deliberation in the novel and serious complications which had arisen. Meanwhile, however, it took severe measures towards one of the members,—James M. Scovel, of New Jersey,—who was accused of favoring the disloyal party, and of lending his influence to the defeat of the Republican candidate for Senator in the Legislature of his State. After a full hearing, Mr. Scovel was suspended from the privileges of the League. In August a convention of Southern Unionists was held in Philadelphia, and the delegates were formally welcomed and entertained by the League. The corporation was steadily gravitating towards that position of pronounced antagonism with the President which it was shortly forced to take up. In the resolutions adopted by the general meeting of the League, called for August 22, to welcome the Southern Unionists, Andrew Johnson and William H. Seward were drastically censured for their sympathy “with the prominent traitors of the country and their political adherents.” The co-operation of all loyal Pennsylvanians was further invited in effecting the election of General John W. Geary as the Executive of the State, “and the election of members of Congress from this State who will sustain the action of the present Congress in their efforts to secure the re-establishment of the Union on the basis proposed in the Amendment to the Constitution now before the people, and also the election of a Legislature that will approve and ratify the said Amendment.” To aid in carrying out these objects a committee of seventy-six, with the President as a member *ex officio*, was appointed, which entered actively into the political campaign.

What followed will best be given in the words of the Secretary, found in his report for the year: "With the whole official power of the Union party in the hands of a traitor, with our late political enemies and their rebellious brothers as his allies, with many of our best canvassers still in office, and either paralyzed by the fear of removal or cajoled by the promise of retention; with our former organization almost shattered by these causes; with nothing, in short, but our wise principles and the individual votes of our faithful people, we entered upon the political contest which has just closed in our victory and the irremediable confusion of our adversaries." The success of the loyalists was unqualified, and the beneficent power inherent in the League became more manifest than ever. Heretofore, under whatever perplexities of a divided public opinion it had made its way to a commanding place, it had at least enjoyed the advantage of perfect accord with the Federal government. Now, thrown upon its own resources and pitted against the formal organization of that government, for the sake of preserving intact its fundamental spirit, the League summoned, as potently as it had done under more favoring circumstances, the forces of good citizenship to the rescue of Union principles. The services of its Committee of Seventy-Six were publicly acknowledged by the Governor-elect and by the State Central Committee of the Republican party.

The campaign had been one of excessive bitterness, and at one time the League house was placed in a state of siege. A mob attack was threatened, and many members remained all night on the premises, to meet the expected assault.

Forces were assembled in the grounds behind the house on the night which had been fixed for the attack, and sentinels kept a watchful lookout. These precautions frightened off the turbulent element of the political enemy; but on September 7 some emissary of the latter succeeded in setting the building on fire. A heavy loss was caused by this conflagration; but the damage was soon repaired under the auspices of a Rebuilding Committee, which took care to improve the edifice and to render it comparatively fire-proof thereafter, by carrying the partition-walls up above the roof. The firemen who assisted in saving the house displayed great gallantry, some of them risking their lives to rescue the battle-flags belonging to the corporation; and they were suitably rewarded with presents of money and badges of honor, accompanied by a written testimonial.

In July of this year a number of gentlemen,* desiring to mark in a special manner the gratitude of loyal Philadelphians to General Meade, ordered a gold medal to be designed and executed, which was presented to him on behalf of the League on the evening of the anniversary of national independence. The usual silver medal of the League was also conferred, in September, on Major-General Joseph Holt, Judge-Advocate of the Army of the United States.

As soon as practicable, after the restoration of peace, the

* Messrs. A. E. Borie, Jay Cooke, C. H. Clark, G. W. Childs, A. J. Drexel, John Rice, H. P. McKean, Thomas Smith, E. W. Clark, W. G. Moorhead, J. H. Orne, E. W. Bailey, H. C. Gibson, and Charles Macal-
ester.

League had begun to busy itself with the formation of Union Leagues in the Southern States,—a work of extreme delicacy, owing to the persistence of old antipathies in those parts of the country, and the intimidation exercised by former rebels towards all who attempted to place themselves heartily in relation with the victorious party. In June, 1867, the Hon. John Jay, President of the Union League Club of New York, opened a correspondence with the Directors of the Philadelphia corporation, on the subject of a reorganization of the Southern wing of the Republican party. Courtesies were exchanged between the two bodies; delegations from Boston and New York were entertained at the League house, and a committee of five was appointed to co-operate in the work of holding meetings and furnishing political speakers in Virginia. When the time drew near for judicial elections in Pennsylvania and the choice of municipal officers in Philadelphia, the League again came to the front in the canvass. A committee of five was appointed to confer with an existing "committee of citizens" as to the city elections, while at a general meeting held September 18, forcible resolutions were passed favoring the Reconstruction Acts, and plainly intimating that impeachment was the sole remedy left to cure the ills which President Johnson had brought upon the country. The election of Judge Henry W. Williams to the Supreme Court bench, and of M. Russell Thayer as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, was counselled; a committee of fifty League members being empowered to represent the organization in the campaign. For the first time since it had entered upon its career, the League found

itself on the defeated side when the vote was cast ; but this event was attributable partly to the apathy which long-continued success had brought upon the party with which it acted, and partly also—it was strongly suspected—to frauds practised by the opposition at the polls. This led, in the following year, to the offering of rewards by the Board of Directors for the detection of electoral conspirators, or the arrest and conviction of fraudulent voters of any kind.

Meanwhile, the League had had opportunities to pay honor to several distinguished men. The Hon. Schuyler Colfax was entertained, May 7. The Hon. Edwin M. Stanton visited the League house at another time. On the 27th of September Major-General Sheridan came to Philadelphia, and was welcomed by the League in procession ; General Sickles being also present on that occasion, and making a powerful address, directed against the conspiracy for renewed Southern supremacy, of which Andrew Johnson had so singularly become the head. In November, again, Commodore Worden was received.

In March, 1867, Mr. William Sellers proposed to the Board to offer the sum of eleven hundred dollars in prizes for essays on the best mode of making nominations to office. The precise object aimed at is indicated in the preamble offered by the mover of the resolutions :

“ Whereas, In a Republican form of government it is of the highest importance that the delegates of the people to whom the sovereign power is intrusted should be so selected as to truly represent the body politic, and there being no provision of law whereby the people may be organized for the purpose of such selection, and all parties having

recognized the necessity of such organization by the formation of voluntary associations for this purpose; and, whereas, there are grave defects existing under the present system of voluntary organization, which it is believed may be corrected by suitable provisions of law; now, therefore, be it

“*Resolved*, by the Board of Directors of the Union League of Philadelphia, that the Secretary be and is hereby directed to offer eleven hundred dollars in prizes for essays on the *legal organization of the people* to select candidates for office.”

This proceeding attracted much attention and drew forth a number of essays, four of which obtained prizes, in July, 1868, and were afterwards printed. No immediate change in the system discussed could be expected to result; but much indirect good was doubtless effected by thus bringing the subject before the public, and the interest of the League in political reform and progress was wholesomely asserted.

At the annual meeting, December, 1867, Mr. Charles Gibbons introduced a resolution, which was adopted, nominating General Grant as the candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency, in the election to be held the following November. The League was thus the first organized body to place General Grant in the field for the campaign of 1868. It had the satisfaction of seeing him nominated by the Chicago Convention, May 21, 1868, and on that day, in general meeting, passed resolutions approving of his candidacy. Philadelphia was carried by the Democrats in October, but the League's campaign committee of fifty labored so well that at the Presidential election in November this result was reversed; and not long afterward the President-

elect of the United States attended a private reception in the League house, whence his name had first been formally sent forth to the people as the choice of many influential Republicans.

The President of the League, Mr. Fell, contemplating absence from the country, had resigned his office in April; but the resignation was tabled, a leave of absence was granted, and the Vice-Presidents were instructed to take the control. At the annual election of 1868, Horace Binney, Jr., received the Presidency. The first subject of importance brought up under his administration was that of frauds at elections. The Republican defeat in the previous October was believed to have been accomplished by gross frauds, which the proffer of rewards for detection had been inadequate to prevent. A radical preventive was obviously needed. Accordingly, on motion of Mr. Gibbons, it was resolved to appoint a committee of five, "with authority to confer with counsel and with any committee of the Legislature, on behalf of the League, on the subjects of a law for the registration of voters in this State, and such amendments of the laws of the State as may be necessary for the prevention of fraud and violence in the election of public officers." Messrs. Gibbons, Perkins, Rice, Orne, and Cope were appointed to fulfil the duty thus enjoined. By the 11th of May they were able to report that a law had been drafted and passed by the Legislature to accomplish the end in view. But this by no means settled the matter. Judge Sharswood promptly declared the registration law unconstitutional. Thereupon the Directors of the League commissioned three of their number to retain

counsel to argue the appeal taken from the decision just referred to, rendered in the Supreme Court at *nisi prius*. The case was carried before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, where it was argued with zeal and ability by the Hon. William M. Meredith and Mr. Gibbons. The constitutionality of the law was fully vindicated by the decision they obtained; and the Directors returned formal thanks to the two advocates for their generous service. That part of the law regarding the city of Philadelphia was framed by Mr. Gibbons, and had been carried in the Legislature mainly by his perseverance; so that the League owed him a double debt, which it was quick to acknowledge.

Although the spirit and energy of the association remained unimpaired, and constantly sought new channels through which to make themselves felt, changes caused by lapsing time, by resignations, and deaths accompanied the League's progress through the lustrum extending from 1866 to 1870. Mr. Lindley Smyth, who for nearly six years had presided over the Board of Publication with consummate ability, declined re-election as a Director at the close of 1868; but, in relinquishing his services, his fellow-members testified their high appreciation thereof in glowing language, and the gold medal of the League was tendered to him. One year later the League assembled at a special meeting, December 27, 1869, to do honor to the memory of the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, who had finally succumbed to the exhaustion consequent on his great labors as Secretary of War. During the continuance of armed hostilities he had kept up the liveliest interest in all the movements of the League, finding

time to maintain close relations with its officers touching public matters, and always listening to their suggestions with a respect that showed how well he understood the importance of their function in the crisis of that day. Subsequently he had publicly set forth, in a speech delivered from the steps of the League house, his opinion as to the incalculable benefit which the association had done in general, and the warm sentiments of gratitude which the administration of Mr. Lincoln had felt for its stanch and vigorous support. Hence the death of the ex-Secretary was to the League like the loss of one of its own most valued members. This latter calamity it was doomed to suffer in very truth by the sudden demise, in February, 1870, of its recently re-elected President, Horace Binney, Jr. A meeting of the Directors, specially convoked, resolved, "That in the death of Horace Binney, Jr., not only the Union League, but all good citizens who lived within the influence of his precept and example, have lost a friend, a comforter, and a courageous leader. In the darkest hours of that bloody history through which our country lately passed, when man and the schemes of man seemed to fail us one by one, and human hope was driven to Heaven for refuge, the voice of our late President was ever firm, cheerful, and filled with righteous confidence; his counsel was ever wise and boldly provident; and he looked the threatening future in the face with a faith so warm, so pure, and so complete, that it cast a glow upon the most doubtful and warmed into activity the most timid and despairing hearts." The sincere condolence of the organization was conveyed to the venerable father who survived Mr. Binney,

and the League house was draped in mourning for thirty days. On the 1st of June, Dr. C. J. Stillé was invited to repeat before the League an eulogy on the late Horace Binney, Jr., which he had pronounced at a meeting of the Philosophical Society; and the Directors attended on this occasion in a body, with Mr. Morton McMichael at their head. Mr. McMichael had been elected by the Board *vivâ voce* and unanimously to the chair of the deceased President; Mr. William Sellers being at the same time unanimously chosen one of the Vice-Presidents, to fill the place vacated by Mr. McMichael.

In December, 1870, Mr. James H. Orne, by whose comprehensive management the success of the Committee on Enlistments had chiefly been attained, withdrew from the Board of Directors, greatly to the regret of his fellow-officers.

In the autumn of that year, however, the government of the corporation had directed its attention to a reform in State affairs, which was of the utmost urgency and promised to bring wide-spread benefits to the people. The manner in which legislation was carried on at Harrisburg had become a source of public scandal. Every year new codes of laws were enacted, affecting all manner of vested interests and entailing great confusion and cost upon important industries in every part of the State. To avert the evils of such reckless enactments, citizens and corporations were often led to resort to the most demoralizing means of controlling votes in the Legislature, as their only defence against ruthless spoliation. A two-edged temptation had free play, corrupting

both the public on one side and the law-makers on the other. In short, the men to whom the people had intrusted the management of their affairs too often proposed statutes for the simple purpose of alarming capital and levying upon it a gigantic blackmail, under cover of legal changes; while those who wished to gain special favors by law did not hesitate to avail themselves of means so easily purchasable. This condition of things became so unendurable that, on the 13th of September, Mr. Gillingham Fell, then in office as Director, moved the appointment of a committee of ten, to consider the subject of reforms in the State Constitution, which should render such abuses impossible. Agreeably to the terms of Mr. Fell's motion, the President appointed from the Directors Messrs. Fell, Gibbons, Sellers, Verree, and Perkins, and from among the unofficial members of the League Messrs. Fraley, Stillé, Lilly, Lea, and N. B. Browne. Mr. Gibbons, at a special meeting on October 8, reported from the committee thus constituted a preamble with resolutions, recommending that a Constitutional Convention should be called by application to the Legislature. The resolutions were accepted at a special meeting of the League, on the 18th of October, after being sustained by Mr. Gibbons in a cogent address,* and by Messrs. Fraley and Goforth. Mr. Frank Jordan, Secretary of the Commonwealth, was present and urged speedy action; and in order to make the movement an unpartisan and wholly popular one, Mr. Thomas Webster suggested that the Demo-

* For the preamble and resolutions, and Mr. Gibbons's remarks, see Documentary History.

cratic party should be invited to co-operate with the committee to be appointed by the League to lay the subject before the Legislature. His proposition was subsequently adopted. What was the issue of this public-spirited action on the part of the League, and what beneficial changes it wrought, are now matter of common and well-known record; but the further progress of the movement will be alluded to in the next chapter. With these initiatory passages of a momentous epoch in the civil history of Pennsylvania the year closed, and under the guidance of Mr. McMichael, who was continued as President by the suffrages of members at the annual meeting, the League went forward to prosecute the work mapped out for it.

XI.

ELEVEN PROSPEROUS YEARS.

IN 1871 the League experienced the loss of two among its earliest and most esteemed members. Mr. Stephen Colwell, who had presided at its foundation and had been the first to sign the fundamental articles, died suddenly on the 15th of January. Alluding to his relations with the League, the Directors in their memorial resolutions said of him, "He grew with its growth, ever in the forefront of whatever movement was planned for giving aid and comfort and support to his country and its government throughout the course of its struggle for existence." The decease of James H. Orne, in November, made another gap in the ranks which had so long been permitted to advance unbroken. Yet the natural grief felt at his removal from their association was qualified in the minds of his former companions by the memory of his inspiring energy and devotion. "It is one of the proudest boasts of the League," the Directors recorded, "that, during the War of the Rebellion, at a time when men were most needed, we recruited, equipped, and sent into the field ten full regiments of stalwart men. To the exertions of Mr. Orne, Chairman of the Military Committee of the League,

we were mainly indebted for this important result. Casting aside his private affairs, as of no value to him before the peril of his country, he devoted himself to the work of his committee with a vigor, a zeal, and a skill which have seldom been rivalled in any department of our institution. . . . While he was Chairman of the Military Committee, with great power in his control, he never sought to use his position for the advancement of selfish ends; but he bent the whole force at his disposal to the single purpose which we had in view, and found his only reward in our cordial approval of his measures."

At the annual meeting in December the corporation was called upon to bid farewell to the Secretary, who had so assiduously served it. President Grant having appointed Mr. Boker Minister Resident at the court of the Sultan, to succeed the Hon. Wayne MacVeagh, the League resolved, "That we see in the selection of Mr. Boker a just recognition of his eminent services as a patriot and his cultivation as a gentleman, and express our gratification that our country should be represented by one so well qualified to protect her dignity and her interests;" and further, "that we record our acknowledgments of the faithful devotion to the social and political advancement of this League which has marked his official conduct with it since he was elected Secretary at its first organization, and return our thanks to him for the success which has crowned his labors."

The members of the Union League offered him a reception on the 22d of the month, which was brilliantly successful, and eloquent tributes were on that occasion paid to his worth

by those who had watched his action throughout the history of the League.

In the course of the year a regulation was adopted admitting officers of the army, the navy, and the marine corps to the privileges of the institution, on the footing of corresponding members. The Directors passed resolutions in June calling upon members to contribute for the relief of sufferers by the great conflagration at Chicago; and the movement for a Constitutional Convention was so successfully pushed that the convocation of such an assembly became an assured fact. In bringing this about the League committee had been actively assisted by a committee representing the Democratic party, to which thanks were returned for its hearty co-operation. On the 22d of May, 1872, the League assembled and renominated General Grant for the Presidency of the United States. A committee of thirty was appointed to take charge of the campaign.* Their efforts culminated in the election of Hartranft as Governor of Pennsylvania, and the continuance of General Grant in the office of chief magistrate of the country, at the November election. Resolutions were

* The gentlemen named for this committee were Messrs. James H. Campbell, N. B. Browne, Matthew Baird, Isaac Hazlehurst, Henry Perkins, Henry C. Howell, J. Price Wetherill, J. L. Lawson, Samuel Bell, John P. Verree, R. P. Gillingham, William B. Mann, L. Waln Smith, Clayton McMichael, James B. Alexander, G. Morrison Coates, Charles K. Ide, Francis Blackburne, Jr., Robert Gray, W. E. Littleton, Edward Browning, C. J. Hoffman, Myer Asch, William H. Kern, Francis Wells, William C. Houston, C. A. Walborn, R. R. Campion, A. P. Colesberry, M. Hall Stanton.

adopted, November 8, relative to the death of General Meade, and three days afterward the League paraded, under the marshalship of Charles Gibbons, in the imposing procession which attended the obsequies of the former commander of the Army of the Potomac. The League's position, assigned by the United States military authorities of the department, made it the twenty-first in line among the organizations participating in the ceremony.

Mr. McMichael retained the post of President of the League, with the same set of Vice-Presidents, from December, 1870, until December, 1874. On Mr. Boker's resignation as Secretary, Mr. S. A. Caldwell served in his stead up to October, 1875, when William H. Camac succeeded him. After a brief interval, during which Mr. J. Frailey Smith acted as Secretary *pro tem.*, Mr. Silas W. Pettit entered upon the office, issuing his first call September 13, 1876, and was followed by Mr. W. E. Littleton, in 1879. Since then, Mr. Samuel B. Huey has been the Secretary of the League. In 1873 the Constitutional Convention met at Philadelphia, and the privileges of the League were hospitably extended to this body during its session of several months. It was the Hon. William M. Meredith, first President of the League, who, as chairman, conducted the deliberations of the Convention; and this, indeed, was the closing act of his life, for he died in August, as its labors were drawing to a close. The Directors ordered the League house to be draped in mourning for thirty days in his honor; and among their resolutions referring to his decease were these:

"That we bear willing testimony to the valuable services rendered

to this League by Hon. William M. Meredith, no less during his membership than while he held the office of its President; and we place upon record this expression of our appreciation of the unswerving fidelity, unflinching courage, and generous devotion with which he upheld, defended, and sustained the government of the United States in a spirit of true loyalty and patriotism.

"That gratitude is due no less to one who, by the free and hearty exercise of his high qualities as a statesman and of his distinguished intellectual powers, as well as by the weight of his character and the moral force of his example, has aided in maintaining the power and integrity of his country's government in the hour of her peril, than to those who rendered her military service."

The new Constitution embraced sundry alterations in the rights and duties of the city of Philadelphia, which necessitated the framing of new laws for its government, and the League was prompt to lead in obtaining the proper legislation. Mr. Lewis Waln Smith moved, January 13, 1874, that the President appoint a committee of twenty, of whom seven should be members of the Board, "to prepare and promote" such legislation.

When the Commissioners of the Centennial Exhibition first met, in 1872, the League entertained them, and through a committee appointed February 23, 1874, to wait upon Congress, it threw the weight of its influence in favor of extending government aid to that national enterprise which was to do honor to the Republic in its hundredth year. But the Federal government refusing to give the Exhibition material support, the public spirit of individuals had to be appealed to in order to make the project a success. In the munificent response to such appeal, and in the endeavor to forward the

Exhibition by all available means, members of the League took an important part, maintaining in that emergency, as in so many others, the high standing of the organization as an agency always ready to place itself at the service of the best, and to assist in carrying out large ideas, whether relating to politics or the indirect cultivation of a robust national sentiment. While the Exhibition was in progress, Mr. Boker—who had meanwhile been promoted to the Russian mission, and was chiefly instrumental in securing from the governments of Russia, Turkey, and Egypt due assistance for the representation of those countries at the great industrial display in Philadelphia—returned on leave of absence, and was given a reception by the League. Rutherford B. Hayes, then Governor of Ohio, and candidate for the Presidency of the United States, was also welcomed and entertained in October, 1876, on the “Ohio day” of the Exhibition.

In 1874 precautions were taken to secure, if possible, the nomination of suitable candidates for municipal officers at the spring election of the ensuing year. A committee of sixty-two having been appointed to labor for that object, and Mr. John P. Verree having been elected President of the League at the December meeting, some of the Republican candidates were endorsed by the committee, and from others their approval was withheld. These latter candidates gained their election only by reduced majorities, and the circumstance caused much excitement and division of opinion among League members. The policy of participating in municipal politics as a body has not been pursued by the corporation since that time. In December, 1876, Mr. Charles E. Smith

was elevated to the Presidency of the League, holding the position two years, after which Mr. Boker, on his final return from St. Petersburg, was elected. In March, 1880, also, Mr. Boker received the gold League medal.

President Hayes's Southern policy had been upheld by the League, which had also manifested its sympathy with his advocacy of Civil Service Reform. On the return of General Grant from his tour around the world, the League invited him to a reception, which occurred on the 23d of December, 1879, and was perhaps the most brilliant entertainment ever given by the organization. Under Mr. Boker's guidance it continued to take an active interest in national affairs, and at an early day made ready for re-asserting and maintaining its original principles in the struggle of parties for supremacy, which was to take place in 1880. When the campaign had fairly opened, with General Garfield and General Hancock as the opposing leaders, the contest proved to be a momentous and critical one. The purpose of the Southern Democrats to annul many of the most significant and radical results of the war was gradually revealed, and the League mustered its forces to win the victory, with an energy and a closeness of application not surpassed at any period in its history, in the face of heavy discouragement at the loss of Maine in September. Its specially appointed campaign committee worked upon the public mind with pamphlets and meetings, and employed with good effect the ready contributions of members, both in these directions and the organizing of processional displays. On the 25th of September the League

paraded in the streets, carrying with it for the first time since the war its banner, which had become a symbol and herald of success. So manifest was the zeal and so prominent the activity of the organization, that it became a source of strength to the party it represented, throughout the country, and was called upon for counsel by delegations from other States. The wisdom of its continuance as a political association was now made manifest to those among even its older members, who had at one time thought it best that it should by a resolution relinquish all direct share in the contests of parties, except when the nation's life should be imperilled,—a resolution which would have made it extremely difficult for it to concern itself with any Presidential election, since opinions might be divided as to whether the prescribed emergency had arisen.

The years 1878 and 1879 each deprived the League of an ex-President,—the first, of Mr. J. Gillingham Fell, and the second, of the Hon. Morton McMichael. In addition to the dignity of the office held by them, these gentlemen had enjoyed in uncommon degree the cordial esteem and confidence of their fellow-members at all times. The death of Mr. McMichael removed the last of those four Presidents who had received the headship of the League in immediate succession, from the time of its founding down to the accession of Mr. Verree. But as there was no break in the line of tradition and purpose which the corporation had pursued, members in looking back upon the careers of those now passed away, who had so prominently co-operated with them, could feel that even death wrought new bonds of strength,

holding the League more and more firmly to its objects by the influence of sacred associations.

At a special meeting of the Directors, October 28, 1878, it was resolved, "That by the death of J. Gillingham Fell the League is deprived of the wise counsels of one of the chief pillars of the institution, of the precepts and the example of a man who, amidst the darkest and most disheartening days of our country's history which fell to the lot of this generation, stood always firm, calm, and unshaken in his faith as to the result, who bore the worst shocks of our ill fortune with a serene fortitude that gave courage to the timid, reassured the wavering, and added strength to the strong, and who, in the hour of our triumph, was among the first to deprecate extreme measures, and to counsel forbearance and conciliation towards those who had been divided from us by the cruel estrangement of the sword." They also made mention of "his winning social qualities, his generous tolerance, and his many manly virtues," which had lent dignity to the office he had filled so well.

The Board of Directors met specially to take action on the death of the Hon. Morton McMichael, January 7, 1879, President Boker in the chair, and caused the following minute to be entered :

"The organization of the Union League was preceded by the formation of a social gathering, which, under the name of the Union Club, sought to propagate those doctrines to the advancement of which the League was afterwards devoted. Among the original members of that club the name of the Hon. Morton McMichael was most prominent. With the organization of the League he was identified ; with the entire

existence of the League his name was closely allied. It is fitting, therefore, that his associates should bear testimony to the unfaltering patriotism and courageous devotion to duty which marked his entire career. Although elated by national success and depressed by national disaster, he never wavered in his adherence to the principle of national unity, and through good fortune and bad he stood the undaunted and uncompromising patriot. Elected as a Vice-President of the League in 1864, his conspicuous merits were still further recognized and he became its President in 1870, and remained so until his voluntary retirement in 1874 deprived this organization of his faithful and conscientious services.

"It is unnecessary for this Board to record the unbroken geniality of his intercourse with its members during all these years. It is only when the rare qualities he possessed are brought into stronger relief through his death, that his associates are able fully to appreciate how much of their happiness was due to the light which ever accompanied his presence in every social meeting. He combined in a most extraordinary degree the qualities of a patriot, an orator, a writer, a wit, and a friend."

The minute was also published in the daily papers; the Directors in a body attended the funeral of Mr. McMichael, and the League house was draped with mourning for thirty days.

Another member who had not only been identified in the closest manner with the League, but was among those who had been called from its ranks to high government position, was Mr. Adolph E. Borie, who died in February, 1880. On the 5th of that month, upon motion of Mr. Fitler, Messrs. Boker, Claghorn, and Benson were made a committee, and reported resolutions to this effect:

"*Resolved*, That in the death of the Hon. Adolph E. Borie the Union

League has sustained a loss that reminds us how few of the original officers of the institution remain among our members. Mr. Borie held the office of Vice-President of our body from the organization of the League, in the year 1862, until the time of his death. During that long term of office he endeared himself to our association by his unflinching loyalty and devotion to the country during the Rebellion, his liberality in offering his large means towards the support of every public movement, and the high-spirited counsel which he offered and put into practice when the hearts of other men were disposed to falter and their actions to become feeble. In his intercourse with his fellow-members his conduct was marked by a courtesy and a kindness of heart that won universal regard, and that through all changes of sentiment made his name one of the most popular among our officers,—a name at which none could cavil, and to which all gave the willing support of their confidence.

“The Board of Directors know, from the voice of that private fame which should be dearer to man than the clamor of glory, that Mr. Borie moved among his family and his friends as a visible blessing of Heaven; and we therefore sorrowfully sympathize with those who have been deprived of the advice, the example, and the assistance of so good, so magnanimous, and so generous a benefactor.

“When Mr. Borie was called upon to assume the high office of Secretary of the Navy, and to sit at the councils of his friend, President Grant, we shared in the confidence which the President reposed in him; and with the President we lamented that Mr. Borie's failing health forbade him, in his own conscientious opinion, from longer performing the duties of an office in which he had gained universal respect and approval.”

In conclusion, the Directors resolved to pay to the memory of Mr. Borie the same outward tribute of respect which had been rendered to that of Mr. Fell and Mr. McMichael.

After an interval of only a few months another serious loss

was inflicted upon the membership and government of the League, through the death of Mr. J. Frailey Smith, the senior Vice-President. The Directors of that year may best be allowed to speak for themselves concerning him, in these extracts from their minute entered upon the record June 28, 1880:

" *Whereas*, His associates in the direction of the Union League have heard of the unexpected death of their senior Vice-President, Mr. Joseph Frailey Smith, they desire to give expression to the highest respect and admiration entertained for his character by each and every Director, and held by the entire membership of the organization. Within short intervals the Union League has lately suffered severely in the loss of its most prominent officers. Two ex-Presidents and as many Vice-Presidents have lately passed away, whose services were worthy of lasting remembrance. But if fidelity to duty is ever deserving of recompense, no one is entitled to the high regard of his fellow-members more than the gentleman whose sudden death has just occasioned so much sincere regret. He was truly a model Director, and his great ability and energy have ever been recognized and appreciated. His manly bearing, genial manners, and bright social qualities obtained for him a widespread popularity and a warm, enduring friendship. As in the course of time the older must give way to younger men, the members of the Union League looked upon Mr. Joseph Frailey Smith as one to fill any vacancy, no matter how prominent, and felt assured that he would be equal to the position. . . . But while his loss will be specially felt in the Union League house as a most prominent member, able Director, and efficient Vice-President, the community in which he lived will feel that a leading and successful merchant has been taken away, whose mercantile career was marked by an unsullied commercial honor, and whose brilliant qualities and untiring industry were rewarded by a prosperity unusual in one of his years. . . .

" *Resolved*, That the Board of Directors desires that this minute be

entered upon record as a sincere but inadequate tribute of their affection and esteem."

By the tragic death of President Garfield in 1881, at the hands of an assassin, the League became a sharer in a great grief common to all organizations and individuals throughout the land; a grief which affected in like manner all the civilized peoples of the earth to an extent beyond any previous experience. The Directors, on the day after the President breathed his last, expressed their sense of sorrow as being not merely one due to a national calamity, "but a personal bereavement, which brings the shadow of grief into every home." The high hopes which had been formed as to the administration to be shaped by this man, in whose election the League had been so vital a factor, were now arrested, and the future was clouded with suspense; but the Directors, obeying the duty of good citizenship, incorporated with their resolutions, on this occasion, a pledge to support President Arthur cordially "in all honest effort to administer the great trust which has devolved upon him."

In accord with the policy of President Hayes and the presumed intention of President Garfield, to build up political freedom in the South while cultivating fraternal relations among all the States of the Union, the League has recently interested itself in the question of education in the Southern States. Colonel John E. Bryant, of Georgia, addressed a stated meeting, October 10, 1881, on the condition of the Republican party at the South, and the best means of bringing the Southern people into harmony with their Northern fellow-citizens. This gentleman came before them as the

representative of the Southern Advance Association, formed for the purpose of teaching the Southern people national ideas, "in the schools, by the press, and from the rostrum," in order to counteract the influences of surviving sectional opinion antagonistic to the Union. A committee of fifteen, appointed by the League, reported upon the subject of his address, expressing their belief that he should receive such aid as would secure the vigorous prosecution of the work; and remarks were made, at the meeting which received this report, recommending a Congressional appropriation for common school education.

The latest public action of the League to be chronicled in these pages, therefore, indicates its persistence in the path of enlightened opinion and of duty to the general body of society in its national political relations. Meanwhile, although suffering those losses of old and tried constituents inevitable to any large organization, it has entered upon its twentieth year under circumstances favoring a long continuance of usefulness, and without showing any appreciable abatement of its original ardor, notwithstanding the indifferentism and the laxity of aim which might be expected to assert themselves on the accession of large numbers of younger men, unfamiliar with the earlier period of its history. The membership, over nineteen hundred at the close of the war, fell in 1879 to eight hundred and fifty, but has since by wise policy and a liberal management of the institution been increased to eleven hundred,—a number considerable in itself, and still more formidable when regarded as a nucleus for possible enlargement, should any great national emergency ever again

call for a renewal of the extensive functions exercised by the League in the days of the War for the Union. A financial administration thorough and economical from the beginning to the present, has made its last eleven years a period of growing prosperity; and the liberality of its members has rendered possible the extension and adornment of its building in a manner which will give the corporation greater sources of attraction and better opportunities for public assemblies than it has ever possessed heretofore.

XII.

CLOSING OBSERVATIONS.

WE have now reviewed succinctly, but also with essential completeness as to outline, the origin, growth, and career of the Union League of Philadelphia. From this review it appears that from a small, experimental beginning it rose, by the steadfast and courageous assertion of deep principles, to a commanding position which enabled it to overthrow disloyalty in the great manufacturing capital of the North, and to contribute materially to the establishment of Union with Emancipation, notwithstanding the conservatism which for a time handicapped many of those who sympathized with its main purpose of inculcating national ideas. Its success affords a convincing lesson as to the value of uncompromising integrity in individuals at great public crises; for it was solely by the adherence of a few men to the ideas which they believed radically American and right that any such movement as is recorded in the preceding pages became possible, or, having been begun, was pushed to so glorious an issue.

Not only did the Union League revolutionize the state of affairs in Philadelphia: it also led directly to the formation of similar bodies in all parts of the Northern States, and brought into being a living network of hearts and brains

through which it could distribute its own prompting enthusiasm, receiving from it again by reflex action fresh stimulus of comradeship, suggestion, and support. It enlisted and placed at the command of the government a small army of soldiers, numbering, if we include the negro troops raised by the Supervisory Committee (composed of League members) more than fifteen thousand men. It published patriotic ideas with greater copiousness, and distributed them with a more telling accuracy, than any other civil organization in the country can claim to have done at the same period. It controlled, by the force of moral enthusiasm and unconquerable industry, critical elections, the loss of which to the Union party would undoubtedly have prolonged the war and greatly complicated its settlement, if indeed it had not altogether changed the result. For these reasons the Union League of Philadelphia must be considered an institution of national importance, the decisive acts of which should never be forgotten nor carelessly passed by.

The association has never called itself a club, in fact, has expressly avoided doing so, in order that its very name might indicate that its objects were larger than those ordinarily embraced in the plan even of political clubs. In one respect it differs strikingly from the political clubs of the world. Instead of being created as the exponent of any one party in the customary sense, it was founded simply on the idea of Union, in its fullest sense of original American freedom, and shutting out all possibility of disruption which might defeat the grand aims of this Republic. In its later course, in days of peace and with longer intervals between the emergencies

in which it is required to act, the League has naturally taken on more and more the characteristics of a social club on a large scale. But the vital idea which it embodied in a new and permanent form must not for that reason be overlooked. It is this,—that, in a nation constituted as ours is, a great duty devolves upon citizens to assist in the work of government, not merely by the use of the ballot, but by strong organization outside of parties, for the purpose of encouraging all good political tendencies, promoting and improving the conception of nationality, and suggesting beneficial legislation, which it can also forward to enactment by the elected law-making powers.

The opinion is sometimes advanced that an association like the League should either be devoted purely to social aims or solely to political ones; that a mixture of the two is inexpedient. The history of the League is itself the best refutation of such a view. The agency of which it availed itself in its very inception was that of social influence; and this is the agency which multiplied its forces and gave it the means for effecting all the valuable results it has achieved. The essence of its life has been the union of social intercourse with ideas, with civic duty and political activity. Of clubs centring upon one or the other of these classes of interest there are many, but of Union Leagues there can be few, since critical junctures equalling in magnitude that which brought the League into being occur with comparative rarity. Hence it will be desired by every discerning observer of the public welfare that an organization of this kind, once created, shall remain true to its primary inspiration, and that, however it

may interest itself in the pleasures of peace at the proper times, or however it may concern itself with rendering daily life agreeable to its members, it shall never lay aside the solid armor of its principles, but always stand prepared to enter upon any struggle that may justify its participation.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY.

I.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE UNION CLUB.

I. THE name of this Association shall be the "Union Club of Philadelphia."

II. The number of members shall be limited for the present to fifty, and the condition of membership shall be unqualified loyalty to the government of the United States, and unwavering support of its measures for the suppression of the Rebellion.

III. The Club shall meet every Saturday evening at eight o'clock, during the months appointed by the Standing Committee, at the house of a member, who shall provide a moderate entertainment for his guests at an hour not later than ten o'clock. No more than three dishes of various kinds shall be served, and the wines shall be limited to sherry and Madeira, and to one other. The entertaining member shall be privileged to substitute Friday evening for that of Saturday.

IV. The entertaining member may invite any persons, not members, to meet the Club whose opinions are in harmony with the second of these Articles of Association.

II.

ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE UNION LEAGUE.

ADOPTED DECEMBER 27, 1862.

(First signatures obtained January 8, 1863.)

THE undersigned agree to associate under the name of THE UNION LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA, and to adopt the following fundamental Articles of Association, to wit:

1. The condition of membership shall be unqualified loyalty to the government of the United States, and unwavering support of its efforts for the suppression of the Rebellion.

2. The primary object of the Association shall be to discountenance and rebuke by moral and social influences all disloyalty to the Federal government, and to that end the Association will use every proper means in public and private.

3. To meet the necessary expenditure for house-rent, furniture, subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals, and such things as may be necessary for the use of the League, each associator shall pay an entrance fee of twenty-five dollars and an annual tax of the same amount.

4. No cards, billiards, or other games, except chess, shall be allowed in the League house, and no spirituous liquors shall be kept or sold therein.

5. There shall be a Standing Committee, consisting of nine associators, who shall have a general supervision of the con-

cerns of the League, and who shall be appointed annually at a meeting of the League, in such manner as the meeting may decide.

6. The Standing Committee shall prepare such by-laws as may be necessary to secure a proper and orderly administration of the affairs of the League, which shall be subject to such amendments, from time to time, as a majority of the associators may direct.

Below appear the names of the first hundred signers as recorded in the original roll-book, with a few of those whose signatures occur soon after these :

STEPHEN COLWELL,
JOHN ASHHURST,
J. FORSYTH MEIGS,
F. FRALEY,
FAIRMAN ROGERS,
CHARLES GILPIN,
CHARLES GIBBONS,
B. GERHARD,
HENRY D. MOORE,
WILLIAM HENRY RAWLE,
EDWIN N. LEWIS,
JAMES W. PAUL,
W. M. TILGHMAN,
HENRY C. CAREY,
A. J. LEWIS,
A. J. ANTELO,
SAMUEL W. REEVES,
JAMES L. CLAGHORN,
WILLIAM H. ASHHURST,
JOHN B. MYER,

GEORGE TROTT,
MORTON McMICHAEL,
J. G. FELL,
C. H. CLARK,
FERDINAND J. DREER,
JAMES MILLIKEN,
DANIEL DOUGHERTY,
JOHN R. YOUNG,
GEORGE WHITNEY,
C. A. BORIE,
GEORGE H. BOKER,
ALEXANDER BROWN,
E. SPENCER MILLER,
B. H. MOORE,
A. D. JESSUP,
JOSEPH B. TOWNSEND,
HORACE BINNEY, JR.,
JOHN HASELTINE,
SAMUEL E. STOKES,
JAMES SOMERS SMITH,

JOHN B. KENNEY,
DANIEL SMITH, JR.,
S. J. CHRISTIAN,
JACOB W. GOFF,
WILLIAM B. HART,
WILLIAM S. GRANT,
R. RUNDLE SMITH,
E. CARPENTER,
ALEXANDER J. DERBYSHIRE,
E. C. KNIGHT,
GEORGE A. COFFEY,
JOSEPH ALLISON,
OSWALD THOMPSON,
AUBREY H. SMITH,
WILLIAM D. LEWIS,
JAMES S. YOUNG,
WILLIAM WELSH,
WARD B. HASELTINE,
THOMAS SMITH,
JOHN RICE,
THOMAS KIMBER, JR.,
J. W. FORNEY,
GEORGE J. GROSS,
JAY COOKE,
JOSEPH S. LOVERING, JR.,
GEORGE W. THORN,
A. C. BARCLAY,
CHARLES J. PETERSON,
D. B. CUMMINS,
GEORGE M. STROUD,
WILLIAM B. THOMAS,
W. C. SWANN,
G. H. CROSMAN, U.S.A.,
JAMES POLLOCK,

JOHN THOMPSON,
JOSEPH B. MYERS,
A. E. BORIE,
ELLIS YARNALL,
JOHN W. CLAGHORN,
GEORGE M. CONNAROE,
EDWIN GREBLE,
J. E. CALDWELL,
E. W. CLARK,
A. HEATON,
LEWIS R. ASHHURST,
ALFRED STILLÉ,
GEORGE ERETY,
LAWRENCE S. PEPPER, M.D.,
DANIEL HADDOCK, JR.,
JAMES H. ORNE,
P. F. ROTHERMEL,
F. A. COMLY,
WILLIAM S. STEWART,
A. J. DREXEL,
EVANS ROGERS,
GEORGE GILPIN,
W. CADWALADER,
LEMUEL COFFIN,
WILLIAM T. CRESSON,
CADWALADER BIDDLE,
CLEMENT BIDDLE,
LINDLEY SMYTH,
WAYNE MACVEAGH,
WILLIAM SELLERS,
DAVID S. BROWN,
G. W. CHILDS,
S. V. MERRICK,
L. A. GODEY.

III.

DATE AND ORIGIN OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF NEW YORK.

THE Union League of Philadelphia and the Union League Club of New York having both had at heart the national interest, as distinguished from local aims, it would be unbecoming to treat in a spirit of asperity the erroneous claim to historic priority which has been set up in Dr. Bellows's history of the New York body. We may recognize with satisfaction the identity of the two organizations in large, patriotic purpose; but the truth of history demands that the initiatory action of Philadelphia men, and the influence of this on New York and other portions of the country, should be clearly set forth and fully understood.

The "Historical Sketch of the Union League Club of New York," by the Rev. Dr. Henry W. Bellows, begins with this declaration, "The Union League Club of New York is the child of the United States Sanitary Commission." It is followed by an explanation of the spirit of national loyalty which grew up among the workers in that Commission; and the statement that Professor Wolcott Gibbs, then of New York, but afterwards resident in Boston, "was the first to suggest that the idea on which the Sanitary Commission was founded needed to take on the form of a club which should be de-

voted to the social organization of the sentiment of loyalty to the Union, and he chose Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted as the first person to be consulted and advised with." A further passage runs as follows: "Professor Gibbs had conceived the plan of a national club before October, 1862, but, to quote his own language, 'it was not until Seymour's election as Governor of New York that the urgency of such a movement was publicly indicated.'"^{*} Then ensues some correspondence between Professor Gibbs and Mr. Olmsted, the earliest date of which is November 5, 1862. In another place the historian says, "It is important to observe that the original idea of the proposed club of loyalists was native to New York, and not borrowed from Philadelphia. The *conception of our Club was earlier* than that of the Union League Club[†] there, which was, however, sooner organized and named. They were both original and independent movements. *The resemblance in their titles and purposes might lead to the mistaken impression that both grew out of one impulse*, either simultaneously or in succession, our Club following the Philadelphia League. But this is not historically true, even though it may appear that the Union League Club in Philadelphia finally decided the title and in some degree influenced the form of ours."

The obvious fact remains that no move was made in New York until after the conversation in the cars in November,

^{*} Historical Sketch of the Union League Club, etc., page 11.

[†] This is a misnomer. It was not entitled nor generally referred to as the Union League Club. Its name was simply the Union League.

alluded to by Dr. Bellows and also in the fourth chapter of the present history. By reference to the same chapter it will be seen that two committees from the Philadelphia League went to New York to give advice to the projectors of the Union League Club there, and to assist them in building up their association on the basis already adopted in Philadelphia. Furthermore, President Charles King, deputed by those gentlemen while they were still unorganized to attend the inauguration ceremonies in Chestnut Street, said distinctly, "We carry out your precepts."

Dr. Bellows himself indirectly admitted the relative places occupied by the two bodies in order of time when he used the subjoined language: "It was to meet and overcome this alarming state of doubt and apathy, or of a mistaken sympathy with rebellion in the North, and especially in our cities, that the Union League Club [*sic*] in Philadelphia was formed as a rallying centre for the unconditional loyalty that already remained in the North, and an instrument for propagating this sentiment among the irresolute, doubtful, or despairing. It was honorable to the city in which the original declaration of independence was made that the movement for defending our national life by an unpartisan organization of loyal citizens for the more distinct and emphatic declaration of fidelity to the Union should have been first organized there. Their example animated and quickened the original projectors of this Club, though our purpose was older and independent of theirs, and it is due to them and to ourselves to acknowledge their priority in action."*

* Historical Sketch, page 35.

The only points adduced to show that the Union League Club of New York was "the child of the Sanitary Commission" are, (1) that the phrase "unconditional loyalty" originated in that body, (2) that some of the members of the Commission had bethought them of the necessity for forming a social club on a patriotic basis, and (3) that these members afterwards took part in the formation of such a club. But, as has been said, no step was actually taken until the example had been set in Philadelphia. Dr. Bellows speaks of this example as corroborating the belief which the New Yorkers had "been brooding over for several months." But the earliest documentary evidence of such brooding bears date of November 5, 1862, only a few days before the actual assembling of the Union Club in Philadelphia; and all reference to a general conception in certain minds arising before then has no value beyond that of indeterminate recollection and vague surmise. The only inspiration which, so far as the records show, bore fruit in achievement came from the Union Club and the Union League of Philadelphia, whose members personally assisted in the preliminary discussions leading to the New York organization, and whose words were incorporated in the Articles of Association agreed upon by the latter. The Sanitary Commission cannot, with accuracy, be said to have had any relation of paternity either to the League or the Union League Club. An idea substantially one and the same doubtless occurred to loyal citizens in New York at about the same time, but this idea was useless until embodied. The Philadelphians were the first to embody it,

and their sympathizers in New York, as in Boston, followed their lead.

The Club in New York completed its organization February 21, 1863, but did not open its house until May 12, 1863. The Union League was formed December 27, 1862, and had its house ready February 9, 1863. The first regular meeting occurred January 22, a month before the New Yorkers organized.

IV.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE FIRST LEAGUE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 23, 1863, BY WILLIAM D. LEWIS AND DANIEL DOUGHERTY.

WILLIAM D. LEWIS said, "The necessity of the present organization I consider to have been imperative. Our Union League may be viewed as a great moral sanitary commission, whereby the virus of treason, which has of late shown itself among us, may be neutralized, and many good men and true saved from the loathsome infection. It was, indeed, high time to take the matter in hand when we heard our government denounced by prominent politicians because of its partial adoption of measures deemed necessary for its self-preservation; when we saw every art employed to bring our own rulers into contempt and to exalt the arch-rebel into an object of admiration; when there were even found some men base enough to concoct schemes for ranging our own great and true Commonwealth under the rebel banner.

"It is not that our home traitors are so numerous, but because of their defiant bearing and the boldness with which they proclaim their heresies, that it has become necessary to let them see and feel their insignificance in this loyal community. Let us remember that it was by the activity of

such unscrupulous minorities, and the inertness of the patriotic masses, that Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia were forced to array themselves against the government of the Union. These unworthy sons of their country, lost to all sense of shame, and willing to rise to temporary power on the ruins of the fairest fabric of liberty ever reared by human hands, are at this moment exerting all their faculties in striving to sap its foundations. They preach anew the exploded doctrine of the supremacy of State rights, the very origin of all our troubles. They denounce as tyrannical or unsound every military and financial measure of the Administration, whereby only can we hope to suppress the huge revolt which has drenched our land in blood. They abuse equally the just and humane policy of compensated emancipation, and the bolder and more necessary one of dethroning their ebon idol by declaring the slaves of all traitors in rebellion free. . . .

“But do you know, Mr. President, that to such a pass has the insolence of this unchecked treason reached that, with all our preponderance of numbers, threats have been used that we should not be allowed to assemble in the discharge of our patriotic mission unmolested? These threats have even been promulgated by a portion of the public press. I suppose there is no member of this League that does not despise them, and feel his good purpose rather whetted than blunted by such an attempt to intimidate.”

Mr. Dougherty said, “I am no adherent of Mr. Lincoln. I opposed his election to the last. I would scorn to ask a favor of him, and would not accept one if offered. I feel no

partisan interest in the success of his Administration ; it has done many acts of which I do not approve,—more, however, of omission than commission ; but I deem it a duty, a holy duty, to take part in no organized opposition, but to do all I can to counsel, assist, and sustain the constituted authorities of my country in this war on this hideous and hell-born rebellion. . . . Our defeats and disasters have flowed from our supineness. Reinspired by the glorious memories of this day, let us hurl contempt and scorn on the dastards who would counsel a nation's dishonor by begging an ignominious peace of armed, bloody, and unrelenting treason !”

V.

ORIGINAL BY-LAWS OF THE LEAGUE.

ON motion of Mr. McMichael, January 14, 1863, the Directors appointed Charles Gibbons a committee to draft By-Laws, giving him power to associate with him Messrs. Kenney and S. B. Thomas. The draft was read to the Board January 22, submitted to a general meeting of the League the same day, and by it adopted. These By-Laws are given below :

BY-LAWS.

OF OFFICERS AND THEIR DUTIES.

1. The affairs of the League shall be managed by a Standing Committee, or Board of Direction, consisting of the President, four Vice-Presidents, and nine Directors, who shall be elected at the annual meeting in December in every year, except in cases hereinafter provided, and they shall serve until a new Board be regularly elected.

2. The President and Vice-Presidents of the League shall be *ex-officio* Directors, and one of them shall be the presiding officer of the Board.

3. If the office of President or a Vice-President become vacant, the Board shall call a special meeting of the League to fill the vacancy. If other vacancies occur in the Board, the remaining Directors shall choose members of the League to fill the said vacancies until the next election.

4. The Board shall appoint from the Directors a Treasurer and a Secretary, who shall perform their duties subject to its control.

5. The Board of Direction shall have and exercise a general superintendence of the affairs of the League; shall control and manage its property and effects, and enforce the preservation of order and obedience to the rules. It shall make all necessary purchases and contracts, but shall have no power to make the League liable for any debt to an amount beyond that which, at the time of contracting the same, shall be in the Treasurer's hands in cash, and not subject to prior liabilities.

6. The Board of Direction, of which five shall be a quorum, shall meet at least once in every month for the transaction of business. The Secretary shall keep minutes of the proceedings, and also of all other matters which may concern the League.

7. The Treasurer shall give security in a sum of not less than ten thousand dollars, to be approved by the Board, for the faithful custody and application of the funds of the League, and the security may be increased at the option of the Board. He shall exhibit his account at the annual meeting, and present a copy thereof to the Auditors. And the Board shall have power to remove him for misconduct in the affairs of his office.

OF MEETINGS.

8. The annual meeting of the League shall be held on the second Monday in December, at 8 o'clock P.M.

9. All elections shall be by ballot, unless otherwise ordered by two-thirds of the members present, and a plurality of votes shall be sufficient to elect.

10. At every annual meeting the Board shall report its proceedings, and recommend such measures as it may deem advisable. The Treasurer shall make his report of the finances of the League, as presented to the Auditors, together with a supplemental statement to the date of the meeting.

11. At every annual meeting three Auditors shall be appointed, to serve for twelve months, or until new Auditors be regularly chosen. The duty of the said Auditors shall be to audit and settle the accounts of the Treasurer and to present their report thereof to the next annual

meeting. They shall have power to fill vacancies in their number, and two of them shall be a quorum.

12. At the meetings of the League after organization, the order of business, so far as the nature and character of the meeting may admit, shall be as follows :

1. Reading the minutes of the last meeting.
2. Report of the Board of Direction.
3. Report of the Treasurer.
4. Report of the Auditors thereon.
5. The appointment of Auditors.
6. New business.

Provided, That this order of business may be, on motion, changed by a majority of the meeting.

13. A notice of every meeting of the League shall be posted on the notice-board at least ten days before the time assigned for such meeting, except in the cases of special meetings called by the Board upon some emergency.

14. It shall be the duty of the Board to call a special meeting of the League, upon the written request of twenty-five members ; and such a meeting may also be called whenever the Board may deem it expedient.

15. The notice of a special meeting shall specify the time, and also the purpose, for which it may be called ; and such meeting shall not consider, or take action on, any matter other than that specified in the said notice.

16. At any meeting of the League for action on the conduct of a member which may involve his expulsion, or for an alteration of the By-Laws, one-fourth of the whole number of members of the League shall be a quorum. For the transaction of any other business thirty members shall be a quorum.

17. No stranger shall be present at any meeting of the League.

18. Propositions foreign to the objects of the League shall not be discussed at any of its meetings.

19. A motion involving the expulsion of a member shall be decided by ballot, and the decision of a majority shall be final.

20. Proxies shall not be permitted.

OF MEMBERS.

21. No member shall receive any profit, salary, or emolument from the funds of the League.

22. No member shall give any money or gratuity to a servant of the League.

23. No member shall leave the house without settling his bill with the Steward.

24. All resignations shall be made in writing to the Board of Direction, prior to the first of December, and if made subsequent thereto, shall not discharge the member presenting it from his tax for the current year; and all interest in the property of the League, of members resigning or otherwise ceasing to be members, shall be vested in the League.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

25. A candidate for membership shall be proposed by a member, who, in a book set apart for the purpose, shall register the candidate's name and residence, and shall add the date of such registry and his own signature.

26. The President shall appoint an Election Committee, consisting of thirteen members of the League, who shall examine the Candidate's register once in every week, and report to the President or a Vice-President the names of all candidates whom they may think proper to recommend for admission, and the President, or a Vice-President, shall present the same to the Board of Direction. If no sufficient cause be shown to the Board against the admission of a candidate recommended by the Committee, he shall be received as a member on signing the Articles of Association, and paying to the Treasurer his entrance fee and tax for the current year: *Provided*, That new members admitted within six months of the expiration of the year shall not be required to pay more than one-half the tax for such year.

OF STRANGERS.

27. A member may introduce a stranger to the League, and shall thereon register in a book to be kept for that purpose the name and residence of such stranger, and the date of such introduction, to all which the said member shall affix his own name; and he shall also, when convenient, present the stranger to one or more of the Board.

28. Such introduction shall not confer any right of re-entrance; but the Board of Direction may, at discretion, give a written invitation to any stranger, which shall entitle him to visit the League house for one month.

29. Residents of the city of Philadelphia, not being members, shall not be admitted to the League more than once, save to an entertainment given in a private room, when the number of such residents shall not exceed one-fourth of the company present: *Provided*, That the Board may, at any time in its discretion, suspend the operation of this by-law until action upon the subject by the League.

30. No guest shall give an entertainment in the League house.

31. No stranger or visitor shall give any gratuity to a servant of the League.

32. On any infraction of the above By-Laws, the Board shall notify the offender, through his introducer, that he can no longer enjoy the privileges of the League.

OF EXPULSION OF MEMBERS.

33. If the conduct of a member be disorderly or injurious to the interests of the League, or contrary to its By-Laws, or if, by his acts or conversation, he shall manifest a spirit of disloyalty to the government of the United States, the Board shall inform him thereof in writing, and, if the nature of the offence require it, shall request him to resign.

34. Should such information or request be disregarded, the Board shall refer the matter to the next stated meeting of the League, or to a special meeting to be called for the purpose, of which due notice shall be given to the offending member.

35. At such meeting the circumstances of the case shall be considered, and the member may be expelled.

36. The annual tax shall be paid on or before the first Monday in March in every year. If not then paid, the defaulter shall cease to be a member *ipso facto*: *Provided*, that upon his written application and the payment of all dues to the date thereof, the Board, in its discretion, and upon such terms as it may think necessary, may remit the penalty of this by-law; of all which the Secretary shall make a minute: *And provided, further*, That this by-law shall not apply to the case of a resident member who may be ill or absent from the city of Philadelphia.

MISCELLANEOUS.

37. The house shall be open for the reception of members every day, except Sundays.

38. No person shall be admitted into the League house who does not give his unwavering support to the government in its efforts to suppress the rebellion; and if any such person be knowingly introduced by a member of the League, such member may be expelled for the offence by the Board of Direction.

39. Dogs shall not be allowed in the League house or on the premises.

40. No person shall take from the League house a newspaper, pamphlet, book, or other article, the property of the League, nor mutilate, deface, nor destroy the same.

41. Books, pamphlets, or newspapers shall not be removed from the reading- and drawing-rooms.

42. A by-law of the League may be amended, or a new by-law made, at the annual meeting, the proposer having posted upon the notice-board the words of the proposed alteration for at least thirty days immediately preceding the said meeting, when, if a majority of two-thirds shall vote in favor of the proposed alteration, it shall be adopted.

43. Smoking shall be permitted only in such rooms as may be designated by the Board.

VI.

CIRCULAR TO ORGANIZERS OF OTHER LEAGUES.

ON motion of Mr. Gibbons, February 17, 1863, a committee of three was appointed to encourage the organization of Leagues in Pennsylvania and other States. Messrs. Gibbons, McMichael, and Boker were named. A circular letter, which they prepared, states the aim of the institution so comprehensively, that extracts from it are here reproduced :

“But it has larger views than can be extracted from a reading of its plan of organization. Its name, the flag that floats over it, its very existence, are a standing rebuke to the traitors, who are forced to recognize in these symbols and in that existence the presence of a formidable power which they can neither deride nor weaken. . . . The Union League does not impose bonds on the political conscience of its members. It does not seek to influence elections further than to prevent offices from falling into the hands of disloyal or notoriously incapable men. While it leaves every man free to judge for himself, it marks the broadest line between the true man and the traitor, and indicates the side on which its members must be found. The way in which primary elections for the nomination of candidates have been conducted has been one of the greatest abuses of our political system, and the Union League will so far make its influence felt in these as to insist on the nomination for office of honest, respectable, capable, and, above all, loyal men. It seeks only to make our politics purer and

more inviting, so that our people may not only accept, but seek, office without descending to practices beneath the dignity of honorable men. With such purposes in view, we have no fears for the future of our League, nor any doubt that it will accomplish many important ends. . . . The expenses of such an establishment are too great to justify the residents of thinly-settled districts in imitating us in all respects. If the residents of small towns are not inclined to this expenditure, they can at least establish a reading- and assembly-room for the benefit of themselves and of the loyal workingmen of their neighborhood. In these rooms, at stated intervals, moderate entertainments may be given and patriotic speeches may be delivered; and such assemblies may keep watchful eyes on the disloyal element which seeks to mingle with all wholesome things in every part of our agitated country. If this plan is impracticable, they may meet on particular days—say once a week or once a month—in the usual gathering-place of their party, in the court-house or the school-room, or wherever loyalty has a home, to listen to their local orators, or to transact such business as may be necessary for upholding proper sentiments in their neighborhood. If even this cannot be accomplished, hold a few meetings, or even one meeting of your people, and let them look one another in the eyes and subscribe their names to a roll of men who pledge themselves to sustain their government through its trials. At all events, band together, organize, show front against the common enemy. . . . If you are satisfied that the establishment of a Union League among you will be a safeguard against traitors, or a means of advancing the national cause, do not fail, as soon as you are organized, to enter into correspondence with us and all similar associations throughout the country. . . . The relations between the various Leagues cannot be too intimate.”

The letter closed by offering to all delegates or individuals of smaller Leagues, who should come to Philadelphia with proper credentials, the hospitality of the League house.

VII.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF SEPTEMBER 16, 1863.

"THE Union League of the City of Philadelphia was formed for the purpose of aiding the government of the United States in suppressing the existing rebellion. It had, and has, no other object whatever. Composed of men who have heretofore belonged to different political organizations, it is in no sense a partisan body. At the last Presidential election some of its members supported John C. Breckinridge, some Stephen A. Douglas, some John Bell, and others the present chief magistrate, Abraham Lincoln. It knows no party now save that of the country, and acknowledges no political obligation save that of assisting by all the means in its power the constituted authorities of the land. . . . While we entirely disclaim all desire to promote the election of any man or set of men to office simply because they are the candidates of a particular party, we cannot, nevertheless, fail to see that the approaching gubernatorial election involves the question whether the government shall be sustained or overthrown, and whether the country shall be preserved or destroyed. . . . We are clearly of the opinion that opposition to the war is opposition to the Union. That the leaders of the so-called Democratic party, its principal candidates in this

State and elsewhere, are in opposition to the government in its effort to protect by force its existence cannot truthfully be denied. . . . Entertaining these views, we believe it to be our imperative duty, by all legitimate and proper means, to aid in the re-election of Andrew G. Curtin as governor of this Commonwealth."

VIII.

CORRESPONDENCE ON ENLISTMENT OF COLORED TROOPS.

HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington :

On behalf of the citizens of Philadelphia and its vicinity, the undersigned respectfully request you to issue the proper authorization for immediately raising three regiments of volunteers of colored men from this part of Pennsylvania for the war. The undersigned are happy to be able to state that, in their judgment, such action on your part would be gladly welcomed and earnestly sustained by a vast majority of their loyal fellow-citizens, and that the invitation to volunteer for the defence of the Union would be responded to with zeal and alacrity by the colored men of Pennsylvania.

The undersigned would respectfully suggest that should you conclude to issue the instructions which they urge, you order Fort Mifflin or some other suitable place to be prepared for the reception of the volunteers as fast as they can enlist; that none but colored non-commissioned officers be allowed to canvass for recruits; and that no individual, no clique, nor distinct set of politicians be exclusively trusted with this matter. It is the whole people who urge this action, and all classes should be charged with its support. Finally, the undersigned assure you that they are willing to undertake the collection of whatsoever funds may be necessary to defray extraordinary expenses for recruiting not allowed by the government, and in every other honorable and disinterested way give their hearty efforts towards raising these regiments of colored men *for the war*.

Leaving the whole question of officering these recruits to you, with

no suggestions whatever on that head, the undersigned solicit an early answer to this memorial.

PHILADELPHIA, June 10, 1863.

The above letter was signed by Thomas Webster, Daniel Smith, Jr., William D. Lewis, William D. Kelley, George H. Boker, Horace Binney, Jr., Charles Gibbons, Morton McMichael, and others, to the number in all of two hundred and seventy-six. The reply received was as follows :

WASHINGTON, June 17, 1863.

THOMAS WEBSTER, Esq. :

The petition of the citizens of Philadelphia for authority to raise three regiments of colored volunteers has been received by this Department, and the proper orders have been issued for raising the troops. The views of the Department will be explained to you by Major Stearns.

EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War.

IX.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS: RENOMINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

(ADOPTED JANUARY 11, 1864.)

WHEREAS, The skill, courage, fidelity, and integrity with which, in a period of unparalleled trial, Abraham Lincoln has conducted the administration of the National government have won for him the highest esteem and most affectionate regard of his grateful countrymen ;

And whereas, The Union League of Philadelphia, composed as it is of those who having formerly belonged to various parties, in this juncture recognize no party but their country ; and representing, as it does, all the industrial, mechanical, manufacturing, commercial, financial, and professional interests of the city, is especially qualified to give in this behalf an unbiased and authentic utterance to the public sentiment ; therefore,

Resolved, That to the prudence, sagacity, comprehension, and perseverance of Mr. Lincoln, under the guidance of a benign Providence, the nation is more indebted for the grand results of the war which Southern rebels have wickedly waged against liberty and the Union than to any other single instrumentality, and that he is justly entitled to whatever reward it is in the power of the nation to bestow.

Resolved, That we cordially approve of the policy which Mr. Lincoln has adopted and pursued, as well the principles he has announced as the acts he has performed, and that we shall continue to give an earnest and energetic support to the doctrines and measures by which his administration has thus far been directed and illustrated.

Resolved, That as Mr. Lincoln has had to endure the largest share of the labor required to suppress the Rebellion, now rapidly verging to its close, he should also enjoy the largest share of the honors which await those who have contended for the right ; and as, in all respects, he has shown pre-eminent ability in fulfilling the requirements of his great office, we recognize with pleasure the unmistakable indications of the popular will in all the loyal States, and heartily join with our fellow-citizens, without any distinction of party, here and elsewhere, in presenting him as the People's candidate for the Presidency at the approaching election.

Resolved, That a committee of seventy-six be appointed, whose duty it shall be to promote the object now proposed, by correspondence with other loyal organizations, by stimulating the expression of public opinion, and by whatever additional modes shall in their judgment seem best adapted to the end ; and that this committee have power to supply vacancies in their own body, and to increase their numbers at their own discretion.

Resolved, That a copy of these proceedings, properly engrossed and attested, be forwarded to President Lincoln, and that they also be published in the loyal newspapers.

X.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH HON WILLIAM M. MEREDITH.

At the annual meeting of the League, December 12, 1864, Mr. Charles Gibbons read the following letter from the Hon. William Meredith, President :

HARRISBURG, December 10, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR :

The formation of the Union League was an experiment of which, at the time, many doubted the success. Its object appeared to be so vitally material to the interests and even safety of the Republic, that I did not feel at liberty to refuse the position of President, my acceptance of which the members were partial enough to consider desirable. The recent elections have shown that the principles which the League was formed to vindicate are now firmly established in the hearts of our people. The state of my health, and my necessary frequent absence from home, prevent me from taking an active part in the conduct of the institution, and I therefore, under the circumstances, feel at liberty now to decline a re-election. I beg that you will do me the favor to communicate this determination to the members of the League.

I am, with great esteem, very truly yours,

W. M. MEREDITH.

CHARLES GIBBONS, Esq.

On Mr. Gibbons's motion resolutions were adopted, and

the Secretary subsequently sent the letter which is here appended:

UNION LEAGUE HOUSE, January 11, 1865.

HON. WILLIAM M. MEREDITH.

DEAR SIR,—At the annual meeting of the Union League of Philadelphia, held on the 12th day of December, 1864, I was instructed to transmit to you the gold medal of the League, together with the accompanying resolutions, which were unanimously passed by the meeting:

Resolved, That the members of the Union League of Philadelphia, regretting the retirement of the Hon. William M. Meredith from the Presidency of the League, present to him their grateful thanks for the valuable services which he has rendered to the State and country, during his connection with the State administration, in the promotion of the great objects for which the League was formed.

Resolved, That in testimony of our high appreciation of the eminent worth of Mr. Meredith, the Directors do and are hereby requested to present to him the gold medal of the League, with a copy of these resolutions, and to place his name on the roll of honorary membership.

I have the honor to remain, your obedient servant,

GEORGE H. BOKER.

The receipt of the medal and resolutions was cordially acknowledged by Mr. Meredith.

XI.

RESOLUTIONS TO MR. CLAGHORN.

MR. JAMES L. CLAGHORN, Treasurer of the League from the date of its foundation, having resigned, to take effect October 1, 1865, Messrs. N. B. Browne and Daniel Smith, Jr., were appointed a committee of the Directors to prepare suitable resolutions expressing "their sense of the value of his services." Their report, embodying the resolutions below, was accepted at a stated meeting of the Board of Directors, October 13, 1865.

"Resolved, That in accepting the resignation of James L. Claghorn, Esq., as Treasurer of the League, the Board of Directors deem it proper to express their high appreciation of the zealous, untiring, and peculiarly valuable services rendered by him in the affairs of the League from its origin, and in the cause of the National Union, which the League was formed to defend and sustain.

"Resolved, That in tendering to Mr. Claghorn an expression of the sentiments of esteem and personal regard which all loyal men entertain for him, the Board desire to add their own cordial good wishes for his continued health and happiness during his anticipated long absence from the country.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to Mr. Claghorn."

XII.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

At a special meeting of the Union League, October 18, 1870, Mr. Charles Gibbons offered the following preamble and resolutions :

"Whereas, It is declared by the Constitution of Pennsylvania that all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness, and that, for the advancement of these ends, they have at all times an unalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish their government in such manner as they may think proper ;

"And whereas, The high powers conferred upon the legislative department of the government were delegated by the people, with the full confidence and expectation that they would be exercised for the common benefit, and that no temptations of private gain or advantage would ever control or influence any branch of the law-making power of the State in the execution of the sacred trust confided to its management ;

"And whereas, The history of the legislation of Pennsylvania for many years past is strongly marked by the corruptive power of corporations, seeking special favors by the temptations of bribery ; the franchises of the State are bartered for money, and our legislative halls have often been converted into market-places, where important public offices have been sold to the highest bidders by faithless and venal public servants ; vested rights have been threatened and assailed for

the sole purpose of extorting ransom from their lawful proprietors; and public acts which concern the common welfare are passed or rejected without intelligent consideration, and thus the safety and happiness of the people are frequently impaired and imperilled by dishonest and incompetent representatives;

"And whereas, There appears to be no other remedy for these monstrous and acknowledged evils than such well-considered amendments of the constitution of the State as will deliver the legislative body from the temptations which continually assail it, and improve the character of its members by securing the rights of minorities in all popular elections; therefore,

"Resolved, That the members of the Union League of Philadelphia, now assembled in general meeting, do approve and recommend the calling of a convention to be composed of delegates chosen by the freemen of the State, for the purpose of proposing amendments to the Constitution of Pennsylvania.

"Resolved, In order that the wishes of the freemen of the Commonwealth may be duly ascertained in respect to the calling of such a convention, that application be made to the Legislature at its next session for the passage of a proper act submitting the question to the people for their decision at an election to be held for the special purpose on the first Tuesday in May next, or at some other convenient time.

"Resolved, That a committee to consist of ten persons, five of whom shall be taken from the body of the League and five from the Board of Managers of the League, be appointed for the purpose of directing public attention to the subject of the foregoing preamble and resolutions, with authority to confer with any other committees that may be appointed by other organizations or meetings having the same ends in view, and with power to take such measures in the premises as to them may seem meet and expedient."

The scope of the contemplated reform is concisely and comprehensively outlined in the speech made by Mr. Gibbons on presenting the resolutions. He said:

"The preamble and resolutions which are now submitted to the action of the League were unanimously approved, as stated, by the Board of Directors. I believe they do not magnify the corruption known to exist in the legislative department of our State government. It is the inevitable result of a system which gives to that department the power to confer special and valuable privileges upon one set of men and deny the like to others who seek them for like objects equally meritorious. Wherever such a power resides in a legislature, all experience proves that neither those who seek nor those who confer such favors are beyond the reach of temptation.

"The franchises of the State are secured in these latter days less by considerations of a public nature than by means of private gain to individuals, and hence they have become the almost unfailing sources of that corruption which is shaking the confidence of many people in the stability of popular government. Public opinion exhausts its indignation upon those who have surrendered to the temptations of bribery, while the managers of corporations who permit the money of their stockholders to be applied to such purposes escape observation and punishment, and seem to imagine that no share of the responsibility rests upon their shoulders. A sounder morality teaches that they who procure the bribe to be offered are the first transgressors, and are more guilty than their victims, who were too human to resist it. 'It must be that offences come, but woe be to that man by whom the offence cometh!'

"If it be right to grant the franchises of the State for a particular purpose in one county, it is equally right to grant them for like purposes when required in any other county. Or if it be right to grant special powers and privileges to one corporation, it is equally right to grant the like powers to all others of the same character. The people are entitled to impartial legislation. Railroad companies, manufacturing companies, mining, banking, insurance, and trust companies, and other corporations created for other purposes, have performed and will continue to perform important services to the State, and are so completely interwoven with all our social and material wants that they

should be created and regulated only by *general laws*. Such a reform would strike the root of the corruption complained of.

"The extent to which special legislation is carried may be seen by reference to the pamphlet laws of the State. They exhibit the fact, which may probably excite some surprise, that our vast and expensive machinery for making laws finds very little employment in matters which concern the public generally. It costs, perhaps, hundreds of thousands of dollars to set it up every year, and is then employed almost exclusively in special legislation at an additional annual expense of three hundred thousand dollars. The laws of 1868 are printed in a huge octavo volume of fourteen hundred and fourteen pages; the laws of 1869 in a similar volume of fifteen hundred and four pages; the laws of 1870 in a similar volume of fifteen hundred and fifty-two pages; making a total of four thousand seven hundred and ninety pages.

"Twenty-one thousand copies of these laws have been printed at the public expense, and about three hundred pages out of the whole number contain all the general laws which have been passed for the last three years. In 1868 the Legislature passed eighty-one general laws and twelve hundred and seventy-four special or private acts. In 1869 it passed seventy-one general laws and twelve hundred and forty-five special or private acts.

"In 1870 it passed, as nearly as I can ascertain, forty-nine general laws and about twelve hundred private or special acts. Hundreds of these special acts relate to corporations; hundreds apply only to particular counties; many of them relate to sheep, goats, dogs, pigs, and other families of animated nature in certain townships, and all of them to matters which could be better regulated by general and permanent laws, or which might be safely left by constitutional provision to the control of local authorities.

"If the power of the Legislature were restricted to the passage of laws of a public nature, there would be, in fact, very little for it to do. Biennial sessions are all that the public welfare would require. We are more likely to suffer from too much than too little legislation. If our general elections were biennial instead of annual, they would come often

enough for the peace, safety, morality, and happiness of the people, and the change would result in a prodigious saving of time, health, and money.

"There are other subjects which would necessarily force themselves upon the attention of a convention. The rights of political minorities are entitled to respect, and should be guarded and protected by the fundamental law. How this can be best accomplished is a question which is already engaging the attention of some of the best minds in the State. Although Mr. Buckalew is not of my political faith, I am free to say that, in my opinion, he is entitled to great honor for his patriotic efforts in this direction.

"The practice of conferring political patronage upon courts of law, whose judges are elective, is a threatening evil which is worthy of serious thought. Our system of public education is a very imperfect one, and compares unfavorably in its results with that of some other countries far behind us in liberal ideas on subjects connected with political science. These are matters that need not be discussed here, but they are too important to be neglected in any revision that may be made of our State constitution.

"The proposition embraced by the resolutions involves no question of party politics. It contemplates nothing more than the ascertainment of the will of the freemen of the State in relation to the call of a convention for the purpose indicated. It is impossible to close our eyes to the necessity of some popular endeavor to check corruption in public places, which is confined to no party, and has grown so bold that it seems to challenge the virtue of the people to an open contest for supremacy.

"It is not peculiar to Pennsylvania. It is quite as bad in other States. Not only the Legislature of New York but the local judiciary of its great commercial capital is befouled by it, and the halls of Congress are not free from its loathsome touch. But our duty is at home, among our own people. If we do our part faithfully we shall unveil the old shield of the Commonwealth, which has been so long obscured, and make the pledge of virtue, liberty, and independence, which our fathers inscribed upon it, our pledge, to be kept hereafter inviolate."

XIII.

THE LEAGUE HOUSE.

THE lease of the Baldwin house, the first building occupied by the League, was to expire in August, 1864, and as the negotiations for a further lease or a purchase on favorable terms were unsuccessful, members began to consider, in the autumn of 1863, the question of erecting a building of their own. A meeting for this purpose was called for October 16 of that year, and an association of subscribers, with Daniel Smith, Jr., as chairman, was then formed, which assembled on the 28th to receive the reports of the Committees on Organization and on Plans. They continued to consult together until the subject had been brought into a form capable of presentation to the annual meeting of the League in December. A lot had been purchased, bounded by Broad, Sansom, and Moravian Streets, and it was proposed by the gentlemen owning it (mostly League members) to put up a building there which should be leased to the association. But at the annual meeting another plan was submitted by the Directors and adopted. This was to leave the title of the lot and building in the hands of Trustees until the League should obtain its charter, and thus be enabled to hold the real estate itself.

The entire cost of land and house was to be one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, for which the Trustees subsequently, on transferring title, took a mortgage to the full amount, payable in twenty years. Certificates of loan, representing five hundred dollars each, were issued to the contributors to the fund. The whole sum needed was readily obtained from members. While the construction was progressing prices rose excessively high, in consequence of the inflation of the currency, but the energy of the members kept pace with the advance, and they raised thirty-two thousand dollars more to be expended upon the property. In addition to this, more than twenty-four thousand dollars were appropriated from the League treasury to make the new edifice completely satisfactory. The total cost, therefore, footed up somewhat over one hundred and seventy-six thousand dollars, of which the members, individually, contributed one hundred and fifty-two thousand dollars by voluntary subscription.

In 1881 a number of members offered to build at their own expense, and present to the corporation a large and handsome Annex, which should include a spacious hall suitable for League meetings, private exhibitions of art, and for balls or other social assemblies. This offer was accepted, and two hundred and forty-eight members subscribed for the proposed structure thirty-two thousand five hundred dollars, which, with a sum derived from the sale of certain buildings torn down to make room for it, sufficed to finish the Annex in a manner eminently satisfactory. The League house is now one of the most commodious, stately, and beautiful club edifices in the world. By this latest addition the resources

of the corporation are greatly extended, not only for the benefit of those who frequent the League house, but for the better management of those receptions to public men which form one of the traditional functions of the League. Meanwhile the portraits and marble effigies of heroes, of statesmen, thinkers, and great generals silently guard the corridors or look from the walls which, but for the cause served by the living originals, would never have been reared. By the gift of Mr. Edwin N. Benson, also, a memorial window, placed in the house proper and dedicated to the first four Presidents of the League, enshrines the memory of those faithful citizens.

XIV.

OFFICERS OF THE LEAGUE.

PRESIDENTS.

WILLIAM M. MEREDITH, December, 1862, to 1864.
 J. GILLINGHAM FELL, December, 1864, to 1868.
 HORACE BINNEY, JR., December, 1868, to February, 1870.
 MORTON McMICHAEL, February, 1870, to December, 1874.
 JOHN P. VERREE, December, 1874, to 1876.
 CHARLES E. SMITH, December, 1876, to 1878.
 GEORGE H. BOKER, December, 1878.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1863.—WILLIAM H. ASHHURST, JOHN B. MYERS, ADOLPH E. BORIE,
 HORACE BINNEY, JR.
 1864.—The same.
 1865.—W. H. ASHHURST, A. E. BORIE, HORACE BINNEY, JR., MORTON
 McMICHAEL.
 1866. }
 1867. } —The same.
 1868. }
 1869.—A. E. BORIE, MORTON McMICHAEL, J. GILLINGHAM FELL,
 DANIEL SMITH, JR.
 1870.—A. E. BORIE, MORTON McMICHAEL, J. G. FELL, CHARLES GIB-
 BONS.

- 1871.—A. E. BORIE, J. G. FELL, CHARLES GIBBONS, WILLIAM SELLERS.
 1872. }
 1873. } —The same.
 1874. }
 1875.—A. E. BORIE, J. G. FELL, EDWARD C. KNIGHT, CHARLES E. SMITH.
 1876.—A. E. BORIE, J. G. FELL, E. C. KNIGHT, JAMES B. WATSON.
 1877.—A. E. BORIE, J. G. FELL, JAMES V. WATSON, JOHN P. VERREE.
 1878.—J. G. FELL, J. V. WATSON, E. R. COPE, B. H. BARTOL.
 1879.—A. E. BORIE, EDWIN N. BENSON, J. FRAILEY SMITH, WILLIAM C. HOUSTON.
 1880.—The same. But on the decease of Messrs. BORIE and FRAILEY SMITH, EDWIN H. FITLER and SAMUEL C. PERKINS were chosen to fill the vacancies thus created.
 1881.—EDWIN N. BENSON, W. C. HOUSTON, E. H. FITLER, S. C. PERKINS.
 1882.—The same.
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DIRECTORS.

- 1863.—CHARLES GILPIN, MORTON McMICHAEL, J. I. CLARK HARE, CHARLES GIBBONS, JAMES L. CLAGHORN, BENJAMIN GERHARD, JOSEPH B. TOWNSEND, GEORGE H. BOKER.
 1864.—MORTON McMICHAEL, J. I. CLARK HARE, CHARLES GIBBONS, JAMES L. CLAGHORN, BENJAMIN GERHARD, J. B. TOWNSEND, GEORGE H. BOKER. *Newly elected*: GEORGE WHITNEY, JOHN B. KENNEY.
 1865.—J. I. CLARK HARE, CHARLES GIBBONS, JAMES L. CLAGHORN, J. B. TOWNSEND, GEORGE H. BOKER, GEORGE WHITNEY, JOHN B. KENNEY. *Newly elected*: LINDLEY SMYTH, DANIEL SMITH, JR., N. B. BROWNE, JAMES H. ORNE, HENRY C. LEA, WILLIAM SELLERS, ELLERSLIE WALLACE, M.D., CADWALADER BIDDLE.
 1866.—J. I. CLARK HARE, CHARLES GIBBONS, J. B. TOWNSEND, GEORGE H. BOKER, GEORGE WHITNEY, LINDLEY SMYTH, DANIEL SMITH,

- JR., N. B. BROWNE, JAMES H. ORNE, WILLIAM SELLERS, ELLERSLIE WALLACE, M.D. *Newly elected*: STEPHEN A. CALDWELL, EDWARD S. CLARKE, EDWARD BROWNING, A. H. FRANCISCUS.
- 1867.—CHARLES GIBBONS, J. B. TOWNSEND, GEORGE H. BOKER, LINDLEY SMYTH, DANIEL SMITH, JR., JAMES H. ORNE, WILLIAM SELLERS, STEPHEN A. CALDWELL, EDWARD S. CLARKE, EDWARD BROWNING, A. H. FRANCISCUS. *Newly elected*: GEORGE J. GROSS, ANDREW WHEELER, JOHN P. VERREE, EVAN RANDOLPH.
- 1868.—CHARLES GIBBONS, GEORGE H. BOKER, LINDLEY SMYTH, DANIEL SMITH, JR., JAMES H. ORNE, WILLIAM SELLERS, STEPHEN A. CALDWELL, E. S. CLARKE, EDWARD BROWNING, A. H. FRANCISCUS, GEORGE J. GROSS, JOHN P. VERREE. *Newly elected*: JAMES L. CLAGHORN, HENRY C. LEA, LEWIS SAUNDERS.
- 1869.—CHARLES GIBBONS, GEORGE H. BOKER, JAMES H. ORNE, STEPHEN A. CALDWELL, E. S. CLARKE, JOHN P. VERREE, JAMES L. CLAGHORN. *Newly elected*: E. C. KNIGHT, HENRY LEWIS, SAMUEL C. PERKINS, RICHARD WRIGHT, HENRY WINSOR, JOSEPH TRIMBLE, JOHN RICE, E. R. COPE.
- 1870.—GEORGE H. BOKER, JAMES H. ORNE, STEPHEN A. CALDWELL, E. S. CLARKE, JOHN P. VERREE, JAMES L. CLAGHORN, E. C. KNIGHT, HENRY LEWIS, S. C. PERKINS, RICHARD WRIGHT, JOSEPH TRIMBLE, JOHN RICE, E. R. COPE. *Newly elected*: ALFRED D. JESSUP, J. FRAILEY SMITH.
- 1871.—GEORGE H. BOKER, STEPHEN A. CALDWELL, E. S. CLARKE, JOHN P. VERREE, JAMES L. CLAGHORN, E. C. KNIGHT, S. C. PERKINS, RICHARD WRIGHT, JOSEPH TRIMBLE, A. D. JESSUP, J. FRAILEY SMITH. *Newly elected*: CHARLES K. IDE, WILLIAM E. LITTLETON, CHARLES GILPIN.
- 1872.—GEORGE H. BOKER, STEPHEN A. CALDWELL, E. S. CLARKE, JOHN P. VERREE, JAMES L. CLAGHORN, E. C. KNIGHT, S. C. PERKINS, RICHARD WRIGHT, J. FRAILEY SMITH, CHARLES K. IDE, W. E. LITTLETON, CHARLES GILPIN. *Newly elected*: LEWIS WALN SMITH, H. H. BINGHAM, EDWIN N. BENSON.
- 1873.—The same.

- 1874.—The same, excepting EDWIN H. FITLER and WILLIAM D. GEMMILL, elected in place of J. P. VERREE and C. K. IDE.
- 1875.—JAMES L. CLAGHORN, E. S. CLARKE, S. C. PERKINS, RICHARD WRIGHT, J. FRAILEY SMITH. *Newly elected*: JAMES V. WATSON, FRANKLIN A. COMLY, WILLIAM C. HOUSTON, GEORGE PHILLER, WILLIAM CAMAC, JOHN J. HARTMANN, ROBERT GRAY, THOMAS HART, JR., JOHN HOCKLEY, JR., SILAS W. PETTIT.
- 1876.—JAMES L. CLAGHORN, J. FRAILEY SMITH, WILLIAM C. HOUSTON, J. J. HARTMANN, J. HOCKLEY, JR., SILAS W. PETTIT. *Newly elected*: EDWIN N. BENSON, EDWARD S. BUCKLEY, B. H. BARTOL, AUBREY H. SMITH, E. R. COPE, FREDERICK COLLINS, WILLIAM BROCKIE, ALEXANDER BIDDLE, ANDREW WHEELER.
- 1877.—JAMES L. CLAGHORN, J. J. HARTMANN, SILAS W. PETTIT, B. H. BARTOL, AUBREY H. SMITH, EDWARD S. BUCKLEY, FREDERICK COLLINS, WILLIAM BROCKIE, ALEXANDER BIDDLE. *Newly elected*: THOMAS A. BOYD, JAMES E. CALDWELL, ISAAC HINCKLEY, HENRY PETTIT, JOSEPH LAPSLEY WILSON.
- 1878.—JAMES L. CLAGHORN, SILAS W. PETTIT, AUBREY H. SMITH, E. S. BUCKLEY, FREDERICK COLLINS, THOMAS A. BOYD, JAMES E. CALDWELL, ISAAC HINCKLEY, HENRY PETTIT, JOSEPH L. WILSON. *Newly elected*: AMOS R. LITTLE, HENRY ARMITT BROWN, JOHN WRIGHT, CHARLES H. CRAMP, GEORGE H. BOKER.
- 1879.—JAMES L. CLAGHORN, SILAS W. PETTIT, CHARLES H. CRAMP. *Newly elected*: S. C. PERKINS, E. H. FITLER, WILLIAM E. LITTLETON, STRICKLAND KNEASS, JOHN L. LAWSON, SAMUEL B. HUEY, FRANCIS P. STEEL, H. P. SMITH, L. F. BARRY, J. E. SOULÉ, WINTHROP SMITH, WILLIAM H. HURLEY.
- 1880.—JAMES L. CLAGHORN, SILAS W. PETTIT, CHARLES H. CRAMP, S. C. PERKINS, E. H. FITLER, WILLIAM E. LITTLETON, STRICKLAND KNEASS, JOHN L. LAWSON, S. B. HUEY, H. P. SMITH, L. F. BARRY, J. E. SOULÉ, WINTHROP SMITH, WILLIAM H. HURLEY. Afterwards, to supply the places of Messrs. PERKINS, FITLER, LITTLETON, and H. P. SMITH, Messrs. THOMAS

DOLAN, WAYNE MACVEAGH, E. C. KNIGHT, and THEODORE E. WIEDERSHEIM were elected.

1881.—JAMES L. CLAGHORN, SILAS W. PETTIT, CHARLES H. CRAMP, STRICKLAND KNEASS, JOHN L. LAWSON, S. B. HUEY, L. F. BARRY, J. E. SOULÉ, WINTHROP SMITH, WILLIAM H. HURLEY, THOMAS DOLAN, WAYNE MACVEAGH, E. C. KNIGHT, THEODORE E. WIEDERSHEIM. *Newly elected*: HENRY LEWIS.

1882.—The same, excepting ROBERT S. DAVIS and JOEL J. BAILY, elected in place of WAYNE MACVEAGH and J. E. SOULÉ.

SECRETARIES.

GEORGE H. BOKER, 1863 to 1874.

STEPHEN A. CALDWELL, 1874 to 1875.

WILLIAM H. CAMAC, 1875 to 1876.

SILAS W. PETTIT, 1876 to 1879.

WILLIAM E. LITTLETON, 1879 to 1880.

SAMUEL B. HUEY, 1880.



